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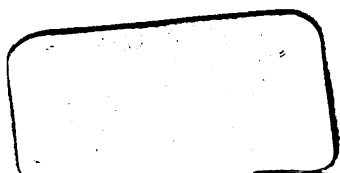
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AN  
ABRIDGMENT  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF ROME,

3507  
BY  
M. VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

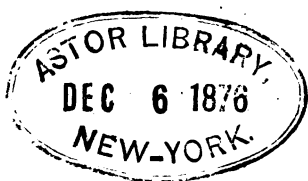
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TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL  
By GEORGE BAKER, A.M.

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1814.



ABRIDGMENT  
OF THE  
ROMAN HISTORY.

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BOOK I.

\* \* \* \* I. [EPEIUS] being separated by a <sup>I.</sup>BOOK storm from Nestor his leader, and driven in a different direction, founded Metapontus: while Teucer, refused admittance at home by his father, who resented his pusillanimity in not taking vengeance for the ill treatment shewn to his brother, sailed to Cyprus, and there built a city which he called Salamis, the name of his birth-place. Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, took possession of Epirus, Phidippus of Ephyra in Thesprotia. As to Agamemnon, the King of Kings, he was carried by the force of adverse winds to the island of Crete, where he founded three cities, two of which he named in honour of his native country, Mycenæ and Tegea, the  
B third

**BOOK** <sup>I.</sup> third he called Pergamus, in memory of his late conquest. Not long after, through the machinations of Clytemnestra his wife, in concert with his cousin-german Ægisthus, who was actuated by an hereditary hatred toward him, he was treacherously murdered. Ægisthus enjoyed the throne seven years, when Orestes, son of Agamemnon, in association with his sister Electra, a woman of manly spirit, slew both his mother and Ægisthus. That his deed was pleasing to the gods, seemed manifest by the uncommon length of his life, and the felicity of his reign; for he lived ninety years, of which he reigned seventy. The same warmth of resentment was displayed by him, in regard to Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, for after Hermione, daughter of Menelaus and Helen, had been betrothed to Orestes, Pyrrhus found means to supplant him, and to procure her hand in marriage; on which Orestes slew him at Delphi. During this period, Lydus and Tyrrhenus, brothers, who were in possession of the kingdom of Lydia, were compelled by the insufficiency of the provisions afforded by the soil, to determine by lot which of them should lead out one half of the inhabitants to some new settlement. The lot fell on Tyrrhenus, who

who having effected a passage into Italy, **BOOK**  
gave from his own an illustrious and ever-  
lasting name to the country, to the inhabit-  
ants, and to the adjacent sea. After the  
death of Orestes, his sons, Penthilus and Ti-  
samenes, reigned three years.

II. Nearly at this time, about eighty years after the taking of Troy, the family of Pelops, which, since the expulsion of that of Hercules, had held the dominion of Peloponnesus, was in turn expelled by the descendants of that hero. Their leaders in the enterprize of recovering the sovereignty were Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus, descended from Hercules in the fourth degree. About the same time kingly government ceased at Athens, the last king being Codrus, son of Melanthus, a man deserving of particular notice. The Athenians being severely distressed by an invasion of the Lacedemonians, the Pythian god was consulted, who declared by his oracle, that the party, whose leader should fall by the hands of the enemy, would prove victorious. On this, Codrus laid aside his royal apparel, dressed himself as a shepherd, and went into the midst of the enemy's camp, where purposely

**BOOK** exciting a quarrel, he was slain by persons  
**I.** to whom he was unknown. His death produced immortal honour to himself, and victory to the Athenians. Must not every one admire the man, who sought death with the same diligence that cowards use to preserve life? His son Midon was the first archon at Athens. From him his posterity were called by the Athenians Midontidæ. However, these, and the succeeding archons down to Charops, held the office during life. The Peloponnesians, on their retreat from the Athenian territory, founded the city of Megara, midway between Athens and Corinth. At this time a fleet of the Tyrians, who were then sovereigns of the sea, founded the city of Gades, on the remotest coast of Spain, at the western boundary of our globe, and on an island surrounded by the main ocean, divided from the continent by a very narrow streight. The same people, a few years after, built Utica in Africa. The sons of Orestes banished by the family of Hercules, after being tossed from place to place by various misfortunes, beside the hardships of the sea, in the fifteenth year, fixed their residence in the islands round Lesbos.

III. During

III. During this period, Greece was shaken by violent convulsions. The Achæans, driven out of Laconia, seized on that tract which they possess at present; the Pelasgians removed to Athens; and a young man of warlike spirit, by name Thessalus, by nation a Thesprotian, accompanied by a numerous body of his countrymen, seized by force of arms a territory now called from his name Thessalia, formerly the country of the Myrmidons. Considering this, we have reason to wonder at those writers, who, in relating the affairs of Troy, mention that country by the name of Thessalia; and this is done by many, but most frequently by writers of tragedy, who are least of all entitled to such licence; since they do not speak in the character of the poet, but in that of the persons who lived at the time. If any one assert, that those people were called Thessalians from Thessalus, son of Hercules, it will be incumbent on him to account for their never having assumed the name before this latter Thessalus. A little before this, Aletus, son of Hippotis, sixth in descent from Hercules, improved and enlarged Corinth, formerly called Ephyra, which being seated on the isthmus, forms the principal barrier of Peloponnesus. But we need

**BOOK** not be surprized at Homer mentioning Corinth, because, in the character of the writer, he calls not only this city, but several Ionian colonies, by the same names which they bore in his own time, although they were built long after the taking of Troy.

**I.**

IV. The Athenians established colonies at Chalcis and Erethria in Eubœa, the Lacedæmonians one at Magnesia in Asia, and not long after, some inhabitants of Chalcis, sprung, as now mentioned, from the Athenians, were led into Italy by Hippocles and Megasthenes, and there built Cumæ. Some pretend that the fleet was guided by a dove flying before it; others, by the sound of brazen instruments during the night, such as is made in the celebration of the rites of Ceres. A long time after, some natives of this city built Neapolis, and both these states always maintained an extraordinary attachment to the Romans, which renders them worthy of their high reputation, and of the very delightful situation which they enjoy. The latter more carefully preserved the institutions of their original country, but the Cumans were corrupted by the neighbourhood of the Oscians. The great power of these cities in former times

times is proved by the present extent of their walls. In the following period, a vast multitude of Grecian youth, impelled by a redundant population to seek settlements abroad, poured in like a deluge on Asia. The Ionians leaving Athens under the conduct of Ion, seized on the finest part of the sea-coast, called at this day Ionia, and built the cities of Ephesus, Miletus, Colophon, Priene, Lebedus, Myus, Erythra, Clazomenæ, and Phocæa; possessing themselves also of many islands in the Ægean and Icarian seas, namely, Samos, Chios, Andros, Tenos, Pharos, Delos, and others of lesser note. The Æolians now left Greece, and, after long wanderings, obtained establishments not less conspicuous, for they built the famous cities Smyrna, Cyme, Larissa, Myrina, and Mytilene; beside several in the island of Lesbos.

V. Now shone forth with peculiar lustre the genius of Homer, beyond comparison the greatest ever known; for the grandeur of his designs, and the resplendent beauties of his diction, have given him an almost exclusive title to the name of poet. This singular distinction he enjoys, that as there was no preceding poet whom he might have imitated,

**BOOK** so of those who followed not one has been  
 I. able to equal him ; nor can we find any be-  
 sides Homer and Archilocus, who attained  
 full perfection in that kind of performance,  
 of which the former set the example.  
 He lived at a greater distance than many  
 suppose from the time of the Trojan war,  
 the subject of his poem ; for he flourished  
 about nine hundred and fifty years ago,  
 and was born within the last thousand.  
 On that account, we need not wonder at his  
 frequently using the phrase, “ such men as  
 are in these days ;” marking thereby a consi-  
 derable difference between both the men and  
 the ages. Whoever believes that this man  
 was born blind, must himself be destitute of  
 every sense.

VI. In the succeeding period, seven hun-  
 dred and seventy years ago, the empire of  
 Asia was transferred from the Assyrians, who  
 had held it a thousand and seventy years, to  
 the Medes. Their King Sardanapalus was  
 descended, in the thirty-third degree, from  
 Ninus and Semiramis, the founders of Baby-  
 lon, and that in such regular succession, that  
 the son, in every instance, inherited the  
 throne of his father. He became quite ener-  
 12 vated

vated by voluptuous indolence, and was too **BOOK**  
amply supplied with means of gratification, **I.**  
which led to his ruin ; for he was robbed at  
once of life and empire by a Mede named  
Pharnaces. [The Assyrians first acquired  
universal empire, next the Medes, and after  
them the Persians, then the Macedonians.  
On the final overthrow of the two Kings,  
Philip and Antiochus, who were both of Ma-  
cedonian descent, and shortly after the re-  
duction of Carthage, the empire of the world  
devolved on the Roman people ; between  
which time, and the beginning of the reign  
of Ninus, the first master of the world, there  
intervened a space of a thousand nine hun-  
dred and ninety-five years.] In this age Ly-  
curgus the Lacedæmonian, a man of royal  
birth, the most illustrious of the Grecian  
race, framed his laws, so remarkable for their  
justice and strictness ; and his system of  
education so perfectly calculated to form a  
manly character, which, as long as it was  
carefully practised, supported Sparta in the  
highest degree of eminence. In the course  
of this period, about sixty-five years previous  
to the building of Rome, Carthage was  
founded by a Tyrian lady named Elissa, or,  
according to others, Dido. About the same  
time,

**BOOK** time, Caranus, a man of royal extraction,  
**I.** being the sixteenth from Hercules, left Ar-  
gos, and seized on the kingdom of Mace-  
donia. As Alexander the Great was the  
seventeenth in descent from him, he had a  
right to boast of his lineage, being derived  
from Achilles, on his mother's side, and from  
Hercules, on his father's.

VII. Coeval with him, about a hundred and  
twenty years posterior to Homer, lived He-  
siod, a writer of extraordinary judgment and  
taste, remarkable for the exquisite sweetness  
of his numbers, exceedingly fond of ease and  
quiet. As he was next in time to his great  
predecessor, so was he next in the reputation  
of his writings. He avoided the imputation  
of a neglect which Homer incurred, for he  
has mentioned both his parents and his  
country; but the latter, in very bitter terms  
of dislike, out of resentment of a fine, which  
it had imposed on him. Whilst I am men-  
tioning the affairs of distant nations, a  
transaction near home occurs to me, which  
has given rise to great mistakes, and great  
diversity in the opinions of historians; for  
some say, that during this period, about nine  
hundred and thirty years ago, Capua and  
Nola

Nola were founded by the Tuscans, and to **BOOK**  
this account I readily assent. But how very <sup>I.</sup>  
different is that given by M. Cato, who main-  
tains that "Capua was founded by the Tus-  
cans, and soon after Nola, but that Capua  
had stood, before it was taken by the Ro-  
mans, about two hundred and sixty years."  
If that is the case, and as two hundred and  
forty years only have elapsed since Capua  
was taken, the whole length of time since the  
building of it, amounts to no more than  
five hundred years. For my part, speaking  
with due deference to the accuracy of Cato; I  
can hardly be persuaded, that so great a city  
grew up, flourished, sunk, and rose again, in  
so short a space of time. At this period com-  
menced the Olympic games, the most cele-  
brated exhibition of the kind in the world,  
and the best calculated to excite with efficacy  
the vigour of both mind and body. They owe  
their origin to Iphitus of Elis, who instituted  
them, and also a fair, eight hundred and four  
years before you, M. Vinicius, entered on  
your consulship. Some say that Atreus, ex-  
hibiting funeral games in honour of his father  
Pelops, instituted this solemnity, about a  
thousand two hundred and fifty years ago;  
and

**BOOK** and that, in those games, Hercules carried the  
**I.** prize in every kind of contest.

VIII. At this time the archons at Athens ceased to hold the office during life, Alcmaeon being the last so constituted. They were henceforward appointed for ten years only, which practice continued seventy years, and then the government was entrusted to annual magistrates. Of those who governed ten years, the first was Charops, the last Eryx; of the annual governors, the first was Creon. In the sixth Olympiad, (twenty-two years after the commencement of the first,) Romulus, son of Mars, after revenging the injuries suffered by his grandfather, laid the foundation of the city of Rome, on the Palatine hill, on the day of the year whereon the festival of the Parilia is celebrated, from which time to your consulate is a space of seven hundred and eighty-two years. This transaction took place, it is said, four hundred and thirty-seven years after the taking of Troy, and was accomplished by Romulus, through the aid of the Latine legions of his grandfather. I am strongly inclined to accede to the opinion of those who give this account; because, without some assistance, he could hardly have established a new city so near the Veians, Etrurians,

rians, and Sabines, by means of an undisciplined band of peasants, notwithstanding the augmentation of their numbers by the sanctuary opened between the two woods. He formed a council of state, consisting of a hundred men, chosen out of the people, and called fathers, and which gave rise to the term patricians. \* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

IX. \* \* \* proved a more formidable enemy than had been apprehended: for during two years, he maintained a struggle against the consuls with various success, and even had generally the advantage, and drew a great part of Greece into an alliance with him. Even the Rhodians, hitherto remarkable for their fidelity to the Romans, began now to waver, and to watch the turns of fortune, apparently inclined to the party of the King; Eumenes likewise took no decisive part in the war; nor did his conduct correspond either with his brother's exertions in the beginning, or his own former behaviour. At length, the senate and people of Rome placed in the consulship Lucius *Æmilius* Paullus,

**BOOK** <sup>L</sup> Paullus, who had triumphed both as prætor and as consul, a man entitled to a character as high as the most exalted idea of merit can reach. He was the son of that Paullus, who with so much reluctance engaged in the battle of Cannæ, so fatal to the commonwealth, and who met death in it with so much fortitude. After a violent conflict he defeated Persius, at Pydna in Macedonia, utterly routed him, seized his camp, and, cutting off all his forces, compelled him to fly in despair out of the kingdom. Perseus, on quitting Macedonia, fled for refuge to the island Samothrace, where he thought himself entitled to the privileges of a suppliant, under the awful sanctuary of the temple. There he was found by Cneius Octavius, the prætor commanding the fleet, who, by argument rather than force, prevailed on him to commit himself to the honour of the Romans. In consequence, Paullus led in his triumph one of the greatest and most celebrated kings of the age. In the same year were two other remarkable triumphs, a naval one of the prætor Octavius, and one of Anicius, before whose chariot was led Gentius King of Illyria. How incessantly envy accompanies eminence of situation, and how closely

closely it fastens on the highest characters, BOOK  
may be observed from hence, that, while no <sup>I.</sup>  
person objected to the triumphs of Anicius  
and Octavius, there were some who strug-  
gled to obstruct that of Paullus, although his  
far excelled the others, as well in the supe-  
rior grandeur of King Perseus, as in the  
beautiful display of war-trophies, and the  
quantity of money carried in it ; so much,  
indeed, that it brought into the treasury one  
million seven hundred and seventy-six thou-  
sand and forty-one pounds, thirteen shillings  
and four-pence, surpassing in magnificence  
every triumph that had yet been celebrated.

X. Antiochus Epiphanes, who laid the  
foundation of the Olympic temple at Athens,  
and who was now King of Syria, held young  
Ptolemy besieged in Alexandria, when Mar-  
cus Poppilius Lænas was sent ambassador to  
him, to require that he would relinquish his  
design. Poppilius delivered the message, to  
which the King answered, that he would  
consider the matter. On this, he drew a  
circle round Antiochus with a rod, and in-  
sisted that he should return an answer, before  
he passed that line. Thus Roman firmness  
disconcerted the King's deliberation, and  
the

**BOOK** the order was obeyed. Lucius Paullus, who  
**I.** obtained the great victory above mentioned, had four sons, of whom he had given the two eldest in adoption, one to Publius Scipio son of Publius Africanus, who retained no part of his father's dignified character, except the splendour of his name, and his powerful eloquence, and the other to Fabius Maximus. At the time when he gained the victory, the two youngest were under the age of manhood. When, before the day of his triumph; he was, according to custom, giving a detail of his services in an assembly outside the city, he prayed to the immortal gods, that if any of them looked with unpropitious eyes on his acts, and his fortune, they would vent their displeasure on himself, rather than on the commonwealth. These words, as if uttered by an oracle, robbed him of a great part of his progeny: for of the two sons whom he had retained in his family, he lost one a few days before his triumph, and the other in fewer days after it. About this time the office of censor was executed with uncommon severity by Fulvius Flaccus and Postumius Albinus, for they expelled from the senate Cneius Fulvius, brother of Fulvius the censor, and his partner in property.

XI. Four

XI. Four years after Perseus was conquered and became a captive, he died at Alba, at which time, a person called Pseudophilippus, from the falsity of his pretensions respecting his birth,—for he said, that his name was Philip, and that he was of the royal family, though he was sprung from one of the meanest,—seized on Macedonia by force of arms, and assumed the ensigns of sovereignty. But this man soon met the punishment due to his inconsiderate attempt; for Quintus Metellus then prætor, who from his good conduct acquired the title of Macedonicus, gained a glorious victory over him, and the nation; and likewise routed the Achæans, who had recommenced hostilities. This Metellus built the porticos, that surrounded the two temples, erected without an inscription of the founder's name, which are at present surrounded by the porticos of Octavia. He also brought home from Macedonia the groupe of equestrian statues which face the front of the temples, and form at present the principal ornament of the place. In regard to this groupe, it is said that Alexander the Great engaged Lysippus, an artist of singular skill in such works, to form statues of the horsemen of his own troop, who had fallen at

¶ the

**BOOK** the river Granicus, expressing their likeness  
 I. in the figures, and to place one of himself  
 (Alexander) among them. This same Metellus was the first who built in Rome a temple of marble, and consequently led the way to what is to be called either magnificence or luxury. It is difficult to find a man of any nation, age, or rank, whose prosperity you can compare with the happy circumstances of Metellus. For besides his very brilliant triumphs, and most ample honours, his decided superiority in reputation beyond any in the state, the long extent of his life, and his zealous and open contests in favour of the commonwealth, against its enemies, he educated four sons, saw them all grown up to manhood, left them all surviving, and honoured with the highest promotions. His four sons carried his bier to the Rostrum. One of them had been consul, and censor, another had been consul, the third was then in that office, the fourth, a candidate for it, and proved successful. Surely this may rather be called retiring happily from the world than dying.

XII. All Achaia, of which a great part had been reduced by the conduct and arms of  
 of

of Metellus Macedonicus, was now, as we said above, strongly inclined to war, instigated principally by the Corinthians, who did not even abstain from violent insults to the Romans. To conduct this war the consul Lucius Mummius was appointed; and about the same time, the senate resolved on the ruin of Carthage, in consequence, rather of the Romans being willing to believe any evil report respecting it, than of any intelligence received, that was worthy of credit. They, therefore, at the same time elected consul, though he was a candidate for an ædileship, Publius Scipio Æmilianus, the son of Paullus, as before mentioned, and adopted by Scipio, son of Africanus, a man nearly resembling in every virtue his grandfather Publius Africanus, and his father Lucius Paullus; for in every endowment suited to war or peace, in extent of capacity, and in acquired knowledge, he was the most eminent of the age, and never either did, or said, aught undeserving of praise. He had been honoured in Spain with a mural crown, and with an obsidional one in Africa. In Spain, also, in consequence of a challenge, and though possessing but a moderate share of strength, he had slain an antagonist of immense size; and

**B O O K** he now pushed on with additional vigour the  
I. war against the Carthaginians, which had  
been conducted through the two preceding  
years by the former consuls. That city, rendered odious to the Roman nation rather by jealousy of power than by any recent injuries, he utterly destroyed, leaving it a monument of his military prowess, as it had been before of his grandfather's clemency. Carthage was demolished, when it had stood six hundred and sixty-seven years, one hundred and seventy-seven years ago, in the consulate of Cneius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Mummius. Such was the end of Carthage, the rival of the Roman empire, with which our ancestors began a contest in arms when Claudius and Fulvius were consuls, and three hundred and ninety-six years before your consulate, M. Vinicius, commenced. Thus, during a space of a hundred and fifteen years, there subsisted between those nations either war, or preparations for war, or a precarious peace. Nor did Rome hope for security to herself, though the whole world were subdued, while the name of Carthage undestroyed should remain. So apt is the hatred contracted from contentions to last, after fear is removed, and not to be laid aside, even  
when

when the opponents are vanquished, nor does **B O O K**  
the object cease to be detested, until it has <sup>I.</sup> ceased to exist.

XIII. Three years before the destruction of Carthage, in the consulate of Lucius Censorinus and Marcus Manlius, died Marcus Cato, who had continually urged its ruin. During the same year in which Carthage fell, Lucius Mummius entirely demolished Corinth, nine hundred and fifty-two years after the building of it by Aletes son of Hippotes. Each of the commanders was honoured with the name of the nation conquered by him, one being styled Africanus, and the other Achaicus. No new man before Mummius ever assumed a surname as the meed of military merit. The manners of these two captains were widely different, as well as their studies. Scipio was so judicious a promoter and admirer of science, and of every kind of learning, that he always, at home and abroad, kept near his person, two men of uncommon genius, Polybius and Panætius; for no man balanced the enjoyments of leisure against the fatigues of business with better taste and judgment, as he was constantly busied in the service of the arts of

**BOOK** war or peace. In a word, he never ceased  
 I. to exercise, either his person in dangers, or  
 his mind in learning. Mummius, on the contrary, was so uninformed, that, after the taking of Corinth, and when he was hiring people to carry to Italy the pictures and statues finished by the hands of the ablest artists, he ordered notice to be given to the contractors, that if they should lose them, they must find new ones. However, I believe you, Vinicius, are of opinion, that it would be more advantageous to the state, that men should remain still without Corinthian elegancies, than that knowledge in such matters were carried to the present length, and that the antient ignorance was more conducive to the public honour, than our modern skill.

XIV. Considering that ideas of any object when collected together, are more easily admitted through the eyes, and retained in the memory, than when presented at different times, I have resolved to digress in the latter part of this book from the train of the former. And to contract into a narrow compass an useful piece of information, by inserting a catalogue of the several colonies,  
 12 together

together with the times of their foundation, **BOOK**  
 which, since the taking of Rome by the **I**  
 Gauls, have been established by order of the  
 senate: for of the military settlements, the  
 occasions, founders, and names, are sufficiently understood. I think, also, that it will be convenient to interweave in this detail, an account of the states that have been adopted during that period, and of the extension of the Roman name by the communication of its privileges. Seven years after the capture of the city by the Gauls, a colony was settled at Sutrium; in the next year, at Setia; and nine years after, at Nepete; and then, at the distance of thirty-two years, the Aricians were received into the state. But the freedom of Rome without right of suffrage was granted to the Campanians, and a part of the Samnites, three hundred and fifty years ago, in the consulate of Spurius Posthumius and Veturius Calvinus, in which year the colony of Cales was settled. Three years after, the Fundans and Formians were admitted citizens, in the very year wherein Alexandria was built. In the next consulate, the freedom of the city was granted to the Acerrans by the censors Spurius Posthumius and Publius Philo. Three years after, the  
 c 4 colony

**BOOK** colony of Tarracina was established, and four  
 { **I.** } years following, Luceria. At the distance  
 of three years, Suessa Aurunca; and two  
 years after, Saticula and Interamna. Ten  
 years followed, during which no business of  
 this kind was done. Then were settled the  
 colonies Sora and Alba, and in two years,  
 Carseoli. In the fifth consulate of Fabius,  
 and the fourth of Decius Mus, the first year  
 of the reign of Pyrrhus, colonists were sent  
 to Sinuessa and Minturnæ; and four years  
 after, to Venusia. Then, at the end of two  
 years, in the consulate of Marcus Curius  
 and Cornelius Rufinus, the Sabines received  
 the rights of citizens without suffrage:  
 this happened about three hundred and  
 twenty years ago. Cosa and Pæstum were  
 settled about three hundred years ago, at  
 the time that Fabius Dorsa and Claudius  
 Canina were consuls. Five years afterwards,  
 in the consulate of Sempronius Sophus and  
 Appius, son of Appius the Blind, colonists  
 were sent to Ariminum and Beneven-  
 tum, and the privilege of voting was com-  
 municated to the Sabines. Then, at the  
 beginning of the first Punic war, Firmum  
 and Castrum were filled with colonists; the  
 next year, Æsernia; and twenty-two years  
 later,

later, Æsulum and Alsium. At the end of two years, Fregellæ; and next year, which was the consulate of Torquatus and Sempromnius, Brundisium; and three years after, Spoletum. In the same year commenced the games of Flora. Two years later Valentia was colonized, and a little before Hannibal's arrival in Italy, Cremona and Placentia.

XV. As long as Hannibal remained in Italy, and during several years immediately succeeding his departure, the Romans had not leisure to found colonies; for while the war lasted, they were obliged to press soldiers, instead of discharging them, and after its conclusion, their strength required to be united and cherished, rather than dispersed. However, the colony of Bononia was established, in the consulate of Cneius Manlius Volso, and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, about two hundred and seventeen years ago; and four years after that, Pisaurum and Potentia: at the end of three years, Aquileia and Gravisca; and four years later, Luca. In the same space of time, colonies were sent to Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum, though by some this is doubted. However, one was sent to Auximum, in the Picenian terri-

**BOOK** territory, about a hundred and eighty-seven  
 { **I** } years since, three years before Cassius the  
 censor, (who was promoted to that office  
 from being priest of Pan,) formed a design  
 of erecting a theatre, in the execution  
 of which he was obstructed by the great  
 strictness of manners, and by the consul  
 Scipio; which proceeding I am inclined to  
 reckon among the brightest instances of the  
 disposition of the nation. When Cassius  
 Longinus was consul with Sextius Calvinus,  
 who conquered the Salyans at the waters  
 named from him Sextian, about a hundred  
 and fifty-seven years ago, Fabrateria was  
 made a colony; and in the next year Scyla-  
 cium, Minervium, Tarentum, Neptunia, and  
 Carthage in Africa, the last being, as before  
 mentioned, the first colony settled beyond  
 the bounds of Italy. Respecting Destona  
 doubts are entertained; but Narbo Marcius,  
 in Gaul, was erected into a colony in the  
 consulate of Marcus Porcius and Quintus  
 Marcia, a hundred and fifty-three years  
 from the present; and Eporædia in Vagiennæ,  
 twenty-three years after, when Marius, a sixth  
 time, and Valerius Flaccus were consuls. I  
 cannot easily recollect any colonies, except  
 the military, established since that period.

XVI. Al-

XVI. Although this little portion of my **BOOK** <sup>I.</sup> work has exceeded the limits intended, and notwithstanding I am sensible, that in a case of such precipitate haste, which, like a wheel, or a rapid eddy, and whirlpool, prevents my halting, I ought rather to omit matters that may seem necessary, than to introduce any which are superfluous, yet, I cannot refrain from touching on a matter, which I have often considered, but could never clearly account for. For is it not matter of much wonder, that the most eminent men in every profession are found within a narrow compass of time, and with nearly the like degrees of proficiency? just as animals of various kinds shut up in a fold, or inclosure, however they may differ one from another, yet, while kept distinct from others, unite in one body. In like manner, I say, geniuses capable of any grand performance, have formed separate assemblages, yet distinguished by a similarity both in point of time, and in their progress toward perfection. One age, and that not extending to the length of many years, gave lustre to tragedy by the works of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, men animated by a divine spirit. One age produced the antient comedy, under *Cratinus*, *Aristo-*

**BOOK** Aristophanes, and Eupolis. Menander, with  
 I. Philemon and Diphilus, his equals in age, though not in abilities, within very few years invented the new comedy, and left works hitherto inimitable. Then, as to the distinguished philosophers, deriving their knowledge from the lips of Socrates, in how short a space after the death of Plato and Aristotle did all those flourish, of whom we have lately spoken ! Who obtained any great credit in oratory before Isocrates ? and who was celebrated after his hearers, and their immediate disciples ? So crowded were they indeed into a narrow space of time, that almost all must have been known to each other.

XVII. Nor was this more the case among the Greeks than among the Romans ; for unless you refer to those rough and coarse pieces, which deserve no notice, but merely as new inventions, Roman tragedy subsists solely in the writings of Attius, and of his contemporaries, while the delightful sportiveness of Latin humour displayed itself in Cæcilius, Terentius, and Afranius, at times not distant from each other. With regard to historians, though you should annex Livy to the age of early writers, yet, excepting Cato, and some old  
 and

and obscure annalists, they were produced BOOK  
within the space of less than eighty years; L  
and the time within which the poets appeared was nearly the same. Then, with the exception of Cato, (and speaking with due respect to Publius Crassus, Scipio, Lælius, the Gracchi, Fannius, and Sergius Galba,) oratory, and the perfect beauty of prose eloquence, burst out complete, in Tullius, the foremost in that line, insomuch that of those who preceded him, very few can convey pleasure, and not one can excite admiration. Whoever searches the records of history, will find, that the same circumstances attended the grammarians, statuaries, painters, sculptors, and that instances of excellence in every kind of work are confined within very narrow limits of time. I often search for the causes why the present and the foregoing age, should have led similar geniuses to equal exertions, and equal progress, but discover none that I can depend on as satisfactory, though I have certainly observed several which seem to have weight, particularly the following. Emulation nourishes genius, and sometimes envy: sometimes admiration kindles a spirit of imitation. A pursuit pushed forward with the  
greatest

**BOOK** greatest zeal, will naturally proceed to the  
**I.** greatest height : to stand still on the summit  
of perfection is difficult ; and in the natural  
course of things, what cannot advance, re-  
cedes. As we set out at first with ardour, to  
overtake those whom we observe before us,  
so when we once despair of passing them, or  
keeping pace with them, zeal flags together  
with hope, ceases to pursue what it cannot  
attain, and, relinquishing the object as already  
pre-occupied, seeks some other. We decline  
any employment in which we cannot arrive  
at eminence, and endeavour to find one  
that will allow scope to our exertions : con-  
sequently, if such changes are frequent, and  
made on slight grounds, they prove the most  
powerful obstruction to a complete execution  
of any work. If from the circumstances of  
the times, we turn to those of the cities, we  
find equal grounds of wonder. For one city  
in Attica produced greater masters in elo-  
quence, and in greater numbers, and during  
a greater length of years, than all the rest  
of Greece, so that while the persons of that  
nation were spread through its various states,  
its genius seemed to be pent up entirely  
within the walls of Athens. Nor does this  
surprize me more, than that not one orator of  
Argos,

Argos, Thebes, or Lacedæmon, was thought **BOOK**  
deserving of notice during his life, or of <sup>I.</sup>  
mention after his death: in such studies,  
these, and many other cities, were quite un-  
productive, excepting that the single voice  
of Pindar conferred some degree of lustre  
on Thebes; for the claim of the Lacedæmo-  
nians to Lydus is ill founded.



ABRIDGMENT  
OF THE  
ROMAN HISTORY.

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BOOK II.

I. **T**HE former Scipio had opened for the **BOOK II.**  
Romans the way to power, the latter opened that to luxury. For when their fear of Carthage ceased, and their rival in empire was removed, the people, deserting the cause of virtue, went over to that of vice not by slow steps, but with precipitate speed; the old rules of conduct were renounced, new introduced, the body of the nation turned the course of their practice from watchings to sleep, from arms to pleasures, from business to idleness. Then Scipio Nasica built porticos in the Capitol, Metellus those before mentioned. Cneius Octavius erected those most delightful structures in the circus; and public magnificence was closely attended by private luxury. Soon followed a lamentable

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and

## BOOK

## II.

and disgraceful war in Spain, conducted by Viriathus at the head of a band of robbers, in the course of which fortune often changed sides, but was generally unfavourable to the Romans. When Viriathus was slain, through the treachery of Servilius Cæpio, the war of Numantia blazed forth with still greater fury. This city never armed more than ten thousand of its native youths, yet, whether it was owing to the stubbornness of their courage, or to the want of skill in our commanders, or to the kind disposition of fortune, it compelled not only others, but even Pompey, a man of great reputation, the first of the name who was consul, to agree to a peace on most dishonourable terms, and the consul Mancinus Hostilius to do the same. However, Pompey escaped punishment through the power of interest, and Mancinus through his own disinterested modesty, for he himself recommended and procured an order, that he should be surrendered by the heralds to the enemy, naked, and with his hands tied behind his back. But they, as the Caudians had done formerly, refused to receive him, insisting that the blood of an individual was not an adequate expiation for a public violation of faith.

II. This

II. This surrender of Mancinus excited **BOOK**  
 violent dissensions in the state. For Tibe- **II.**  
 rius Gracchus, son of a very illustrious and  
 eminent citizen, and grandson on his mother's  
 side of Publius Africanus, had been quæstor,  
 and having recommended the concluding of  
 that treaty, was grievously offended at the  
 repealing of it. Gracchus likewise enter-  
 tained apprehensions for himself of a similar  
 sentence or punishment; wherefore, though  
 in other instances of the strictest integrity,  
 endowed with the brightest abilities, and  
 pure and upright in his intentions, in short,  
 adorned with every virtue of which the state  
 of man when perfected both by nature and  
 industry is susceptible,—he, on being ap-  
 pointed plebeian tribune in the consulate of  
 Publius Mutius Scævola and Lucius Calpur-  
 nius, a hundred and sixty-two years ago,  
 deserted the worthy party, and by promising  
 the rights of citizens to all the inhabitants of  
 Italy, and at the same time proposing agra-  
 rian laws, tending to unsettle every man's  
 property, threw all things into the utmost  
 confusion, and brought the state into violent  
 and almost unavoidable danger. Octavius,  
 one of his colleagues, who stood up in favour  
 of the public good, he compelled to resign,  
 and procured the election of himself, his  
 father-

**BOOK** father-in-law Appius, who had been consul,  
**II.** and his brother Gracchus then very young,  
 as commissioners to distribute lands, and  
 settle colonies.

III. On this, Publius Scipio Nasica, grandson of him who had been pronounced by the senate the best man in the state, son of him who in the censorship built the porticoes in the capitol, and great grandson of Cneius Scipio, a man of very illustrious character, who was uncle of Publius Africanus; — this Scipio, I say, although not invested with any military office, and notwithstanding his being cousin to Tiberius Gracchus, preferring his country to family connection, and considering whatever hurt the public as injurious to each individual, (for which virtuous sentiments he was afterwards, in his absence, created chief pontiff; the first instance of the kind,) wrapped the lappet of his gown round his left arm, and mounted to the upper part of the Capitol; where, standing on the highest steps, he called aloud on all that regarded the safety of the commonwealth to follow him. Immediately the chief of the nobility, the senate, the larger and better part of the equestrian body, and such plebeians as were uninfected by the pernicious designs

designs of the Gracchi, rushed together **BOOK**  
against Gracchus, who with some bands of **II.**  
his partizans was standing in the court, summoning together crowds from almost every part of Italy. He betook himself to flight; but as he was running down the slope of the Capitol, he was struck with a piece of a broken bench, and thus by a premature death closed a life that he might have enjoyed in the highest degree of glory. In this manner commenced in Rome the practice of its citizens shedding each other's blood, and of allowing impunity to assassins. Thence-forward right was crushed under strength, the more powerful was the higher esteemed; disputes, which formerly used to be amicably settled, were now decided by the sword; and wars were undertaken, not on account of provocations received, but on prospects of gain. Nor should this excite our astonishment; for examples do not stop at the spot where they had their beginning, but if admitted through a passage ever so narrow, make way for themselves to spread to any extent; and when people once deviate from the straight path, they are hurried down a precipice, nor does any one think that scandalous in himself, which has proved profitable to another.

**BOOK**  
**II.**

**IV.** During the time of those transactions in Italy, King Attalus died, leaving Asia as an inheritance to the Roman people ; as Bethynia was afterwards left by Nicomedes ; when Aristonicus, pretending relationship to the royal family, seized it by force of arms. He was conquered and led in triumph by Marcus Perpenna, but capitally punished by Aquillius, for having at the beginning of the war murdered Crassus Mucianus the proconsul, remarkable for his knowledge of the laws, as he was leaving Asia. After so many disasters suffered at Numantia, Publius Scipio Africanus *Æmilianus*, who had destroyed Carthage, was elected a second time consul, and sent into Spain ; where he supported the character of conduct and success which he had acquired in Africa ; and within a year and three months after his arrival there, having closely invested Numantia, he took it, and levelled it to the ground. Never did any man of any nation before his time acquire a greater share of fame by demolition of cities ; for by the destruction of Carthage and Numantia he delivered us from dread of the one, and from the disgraces brought on by the other. Being asked by Carbo a tribune, what he thought of the death of Tiberius Gracchus,

Gracchus, he answered, if he had a design of seizing the government, he was justly put to death; and when the whole assembly raised a shout, he said, After so often hearing undaunted the shouts of armed foes, how can I be affected by the noise of such as you, who are no more than step-sons of Italy? Shortly after his return to the city, in the consulate of Marcus Aquillius and Caius Sempronius, a hundred and fifty years from the present time, after his two consulships, two triumphs, and after two objects of terror to the state were destroyed; he was found dead in his bed, with marks of strangulation on his neck. Yet the death of so great a man was followed by no inquiry, and he, whose services had enabled Rome to exalt her head above the whole world, was carried in his funeral with his head muffled. Whether he died a natural death, as the greater number suppose, or was treacherously murdered, as some have reported, his life was certainly most highly dignified, and at least as illustrious as any before his time, excepting that of his grandfather. At the time of his decease he was about fifty-four years old. If any person questions this, let him look back to his first consulship, into which he was elected at

BOOK  
II.

**BOOK** the age of thirty-six, and let his doubts  
**II.** cease.

V. Before the destruction of Numantia, Decimus Brutus distinguished himself in an extraordinary degree by his exploits in Spain; so that having made his way through all the nations of that country, subdued vast multitudes of men, and great numbers of cities, and visited places of which the names had scarcely been heard, he merited the surname of Gallæcus. A few years before him, Q. Macedonicus enforced obedience in that country with much strictness, and while besieging the city of Contribia, five legionary cohorts being repulsed in an attack on a very steep place, he ordered them to mount it again immediately. Though they all made their wills in preparation for action, as if going to certain destruction, he was not deterred from his purpose, and the commander in consequence saw his men return with victory, whom he had sent out with an expectation of death. So great was the effect of shame blended with fear, and of hope struck out by despair. He gained much credit for courage and order; but Fabius Æmilianus shewed in Spain the most conspicuous example of discipline.

VI. At

VI. At the distance of ten years, the same **BOOK II.** rage which had animated Tiberius Gracchus, seized his brother Caius, who, resembling him as much in all his virtues as in this error of judgment, was in abilities and eloquence far his superior. He might have let his mind enjoy perfect rest, and at the same time have become the very first man in the state; but led by a desire, either of revenging his brother's death, or of laying the foundation for regal power, he no sooner entered on the tribuneship, than he proceeded in the steps of his brother, forming projects, however, much more extensive and more forcible. He designed to give the rights of citizens to all the Italians, as far almost as the Alps; to distribute lands, and to prohibit every citizen from possessing more than five hundred acres; which restriction was once enjoined by the Licinian law. He likewise wished to establish new rates of port-duties, to fill the provinces with new colonies, to transfer the privilege of being judges from the senators to the knights, and to distribute corn to the populace; in short, of all the particulars which were tranquil and quiet, not to leave one in the same state. He even procured himself to be re-elected tribune. But the consul

BOOK  
H.

consul Lucius Opimius, who in his prætorship had demolished Fregellæ, took arms against him, and put him to death, and together with him Fulvius Flaccus, who had been consul, and had triumphed, but was equally inclined to mischief. Caius Gracchus had nominated him a commissioner in the room of his brother Tiberius, and had associated him with himself as a partner in regal power. One particular in Opimius's conduct is mentioned, that deserves reprobation, — namely, his offering a reward for the head, not only of Gracchus, but of any turbulent Roman citizen, and promising its weight in gold. Flaccus, while he was collecting a party in arms on the Aventine, with intent to make resistance, was slain, together with his elder son; Gracchus attempting to escape, and being nearly overtaken by a party sent by Opimius, held out his neck to Euporus his slave, who slew himself with the same fortitude with which he relieved his master. Pomponius, a Roman knight, shewed on that day a singular degree of attachment to Gracchus; for, like Cocles, he withstood his enemies on the bridge, and then transfixed himself with his sword. The victorious party threw the  
body

body of Caius Gracchus into the Tyber, as they had before done with that of Tiberius. BOOK  
II.

VII. Such was the latter part of the lives, such were the deaths of the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, the grandsons of Publius Scipio Africanus, happening while their mother Cornelia, daughter of Africanus, was still alive to witness them; the consequences of the bad use that they made of the best talents. For if these men had fixed their desires on any measure of dignity compatible with civil liberty,—all that they sought to obtain by their turbulent proceedings,—the public would have complied without any trouble on their part. To the instances before-mentioned was added an act of unparalleled barbarity. A youth of uncommon beauty, in the eighteenth year of his age, guiltless of his father's offences, the son of Fulvius Flaccus, being sent to negotiate terms of accommodation, was put to death by Opimius. A Tuscan soothsayer, his friend, seeing the lad weep as he was dragged to prison, said to him, Why don't you rather act thus? And immediately dashing his head against a stone pillar at the prison door, beat out his brains, and expired. Inquiries were quickly set on foot,

## BOOK

## II.

foot, and conducted with great cruelty towards the friends and clients of Gracchus. In consequence of which, when Opimius, who in other respects was upright and respectable, was afterwards condemned on a trial before the people, his countrymen, recollecting his severity, shewed him no mark of commiseration. The same general abhorrence afterwards deservedly crushed, under sentences of the people, Rutilius and Popilius, who, being consuls at the time, had proceeded harshly against the friends of Tiberius Gracchus. Amongst affairs of such importance I shall mention one, the knowledge of which however is of little consequence. This is the Opimius, from whom the famous wine got its name. That there is none of it at present may be inferred from the distance of the times, for between his consulate and yours, Marcus Vinicius, a hundred and fifty years have elapsed. The act of Opimius met the less approbation, because his object was revenge of personal enmity, and the vengeance seemed to have been inflicted in gratification of private hatred, not of public justice.

VIII. Soon after, in the consulate of Marcius and Porcius, the colony of Narbo  
 Marcius

Marcus was settled. Let us here record the strictness of judicial proceedings in those times. Caius Cato, of consular dignity; grandson of Marcus Cato, sister's son of Africanus, was convicted of extortion committed in Macedonia, and his fine fixed at eighteen thousand sesterces\*: for people then considered the inclination; they measured facts by the intention, and estimated the nature more than the extent of the crimes committed. About the same time, the two Metelli triumphed on one day. Another instance of distinction not less honourable and hitherto unparalleled, was, two sons of Fulvius Flaccus who had taken Capua, being joined together in the consulship. One of them indeed had been given in adoption, having been received into the family of Manlius Acidinus. As to the two Metelli being censors together, they were cousins-german, not brothers: the circumstance of two full brothers being united in office fell to the lot of none but the Scipios. At this time the Cimbrians and Teutonians came across the Rhine, and soon made themselves conspicuous by the calamities that they brought on us and on them-

\* £145. 6s. 3d.

selves.

**BOOK** <sup>**II.**</sup> selves. At the same time, Minucius, who erected the porticoes, which at this day are reckoned so fine, triumphed with great honour over the Scordiscians.

IX. During this period flourished those shining orators. Scipio Æmilianus, Lælius Sergius Galba, the two Gracchi, Caius Fannius, and Papirius Carbo. Nor must we omit Metellus Numidicus, or Scaurus; or, above all, Lucius Crassus, or Marcus Antonius. To these succeeded Caius Cæsar, Strabo, and Publius Sulpicius; for as to Mucius, he was in higher estimation for his knowledge of the law than for eloquence. During the same space of time appeared the bright genius of Afranius, excelling in comedy as did Pacuvius and Attius in tragedy. The latter advanced so far, as to come into competition with the ingenious Greeks, and to obtain, even among them, an high place for his works; so that they show not only more correctness, but seem to possess a greater share of vigour. A great character was likewise acquired by Lucilius, who in the Numantine war had served in the cavalry under Publius Africanus. At the same time Jugurtha, then a youth, and Marius, learned in

the same camp under Africanus, that skill BOOK  
II. which they were afterwards to practise against each other. Sisenna the historian was then young, but some years after, at a more advanced age, published his history of the civil wars of Sulla. Cælius was prior to Sisenna: coeval with him were Rutilius, Claudius Quadrigarius, and Valerius Antias. We ought not indeed to neglect mentioning Pomponius, who lived in that age; he deserved credit for his keen humour, but his language was unpolished, and his chief recommendation was the novelty of the performance invented by him.

X. Let us observe here the well-known severity of the censors Cassius Longinus and Cæpio, who, a hundred and fifty years ago, summoned before them an augur, Æmilius Lepidus, because he rented a house at six thousand *asses*. If any person lived at so low a rent at present, he would scarcely be considered a senator: so speedily do people proceed from rectitude to vice, from vice to depravity, from depravity to profligacy. During this period, Domitius gained an honourable victory over the Arvernians, and Fabius another over the Allobrogians, from which  
victory,

**BOOK** victory, Fabius, who was grandson of Paullus,  
**II.** acquired the surname of Allobrogicus. Here  
 we may observe a peculiar kind of happiness  
 attending the Domitian family, which was  
 highly honourable, and at the same time con-  
 fined to a small number. Before the present  
 Cneius Domitius, a youth of most remarkable  
 candour, there have been four, who were the  
 only sons of their respective parents, but  
 they all arrived at the consulship and priest-  
 hood; and almost all at the honours of  
 triumph.

XI. The Jugurthine war was then con-  
 ducted by Quintus Metellus, a commander  
 inferior to no one of the age. Under him  
 acted, as lieutenant-general, Caius Marius,  
 whom we mentioned above, a man of mean  
 birth, coarse and rough in his manners, and  
 in his morals corrupt, who, while he excelled  
 all others in the arts of war, was the worst  
 qualified for those of peace. He was im-  
 moderately greedy of glory, his ambition was in-  
 satiable, his passions ungovernable, so that he  
 was never at rest. He employed farmers of  
 the revenue, and others who traded in Africa,  
 to spread insinuations against Metellus, as if  
 he was too tedious in his operations, and pur-  
 11  
 posely

posely protracted the war to the present, **BOOK**  
 which was the third year, with invectives **II.**  
 against the natural pride of the nobles, and  
 their ambition to continue in posts of power.  
 These had such an effect, that having got  
 leave of absence, and come to Rome, he was  
 elected consul; and the management of the  
 war, now brought near to a conclusion by  
 Metellus, who had twice routed Jugurtha in  
 the field, was entrusted to him. Neverthe-  
 less the triumph of Metellus was exceedingly  
 grand, according to his deserts, and his me-  
 rits procured him the title of Numidicus. As  
 we lately took notice of the splendid lot of  
 the Domitian family, so we may here remark  
 on that of the Cæcilian, for within about  
 twelve years of this time there were above  
 ten Metelli either consuls or censors, or who  
 enjoyed triumphs; which demonstrates that  
 as the happiness of cities and empires, so  
 likewise that of families, now flourishes, then  
 fades, then expires.

XII. Caius Marius, at this early time, had  
 Lucius Sulla connected with him in quality  
 of his quæstor, as if through precaution of  
 the fates, and having sent him ambassador to  
 King Bocchus, received, through his means,  
 King

## BOOK

## II.

King Jugurtha in chains, a hundred and thirty-four years ago. Being elected consul a second time, he came home to Rome; and on the calends of January, when his second consulship commenced, led Jugurtha in triumph. The overwhelming force of the German tribes, called Cimbrians and Teutonians, mentioned above, had vanquished and put to flight in Gaul, the consuls Cæpio and Manlius, as well as Carbo and Silanus, had dispersed their armies, and had killed Aurelius Scaurus the consul, and others of great reputation. On this, the Roman people declared their opinion, that no commander was better qualified than Marius to repel such formidable enemies. Thenceforward consulships multiplied on him. His third was spent in preparations for the war, and in the same year Cneius Domitius, a plebeian tribune, got a law passed, that the people should elect priests, whereas they formerly used to be appointed by their college. In his fourth he fought the Teutonians, at the Sextian waters, beyond the Alps, and in two successive days slew a hundred and fifty thousand of them, and utterly ruined their nation. In his fifth, he and Quintus Lutatius Catulus proconsul, met the Cimbrians in a plain,

plain, on this side of the Alps, called Raudian, and put an end to the war by a most successful battle, killing or taking above an hundred thousand men. By this success Marius seems to have merited so far, that his country should not regret his birth; and, in some degree, to have compensated with good the evils that he brought upon it. The sixth was conferred on him in reward of his deserts. Yet let not this consulship be defrauded of its share of praise, for when Servilius, Glaucia, and Saturninus Apuleius, retaining possession of the offices of the state, inflicted deep wounds on the constitution, and even dispersed the assemblies of the people by force, and not without bloodshed; the consul, with an armed force, repressed their wild attempts, and, in the Hostilian senate-house, punished with death those pestilent innovators.

XIII. At the end of a few succeeding years, Marcus Livius Drusus entered on the office of tribune: he was a man of the noblest birth, the greatest eloquence, and the strictest purity of heart; whose disposition and capacity in all his undertakings were superior to his success. For he formed a design of restoring to the senate its ancient dignity, and of

**BOOK** transferring from the knights to that body  
**II.** the right of being judges ; because when, by  
the Gracchan laws, the knights were invested  
with that authority, they had treated with  
cruel severity many of the most illustrious  
and most innocent citizens ; and in particular  
had brought to trial for extortion Publius  
Rutilius, the best man not only of his own  
but of any age, and to the exceeding great  
grief of the public, had condemned him  
to punishment. But in those very efforts  
which he made in favour of the senate, his  
principal opponent was the senate itself.  
For they did not perceive that all his pro-  
ceedings in favour of the plebeians were em-  
ployed as baits to allure the multitude, in  
order that, being gratified in smaller mat-  
ters, they might consent to others of greater  
importance. In fine, such was the fate of  
Drusus, that the senate favoured the inju-  
rious proceedings of his colleagues more than  
his excellent designs, rejecting with scorn the  
honour offered by him, while they submitted  
patiently to the ill treatment shewn them by  
the others ; looking, in short, with envy, on  
his very exalted reputation, and without dis-  
gust on the mean characters of his opponents.

XIV. At

XIV. At length Drusus, finding his well-intended plans badly received, changed his mind, and resolved to give the rights of citizens to Italy. While he was taking measures for this purpose, on coming home one day from the forum, surrounded by the immense irregular crowd that always accompanied him, he was stabbed in the court-yard of his own house with a knife, which was left sticking in his side, and within a few hours expired. When he was drawing almost his last breath, he uttered an expression very consonant to his inward feelings. Looking on the crowd of people that stood round and lamented him, he said, "My friends and neighbours, when will the commonwealth ever have a citizen like me?" Thus ended the life of this illustrious youth. One incident which marks the goodness of his disposition ought not to be omitted. When he was building a house on the Palatine, on the spot where now stands that which formerly belonged to Cicero, afterwards to Censorinus, and is at this time the property of Statilius Sisenna, the architect told him that he would construct it in such a manner, that passengers could not see into it, so that it would be wholly free from the inspection of curiosity,

**BOOK** nor could any look down into it from higher  
**II.** ground. "No," answered he, "if your skill  
 be so great, construct my house in such a  
 manner, that all men may see what I am  
 doing."

XV. Among the most pernicious plans adopted in the laws of Graccus, I reckon his planting colonies out of Italy. Such a measure our ancestors had carefully avoided, because they saw Carthage so much more powerful than its mother city Tyre, Marseilles than Phocæa; Syracuse than Corinth; Cyzicum and Byzantium than Miletus; they even called home Roman citizens from the provinces to attend the survey in Italy. The death of Drusus hastened the breaking out of the Italian war, which had been growing to a head during a considerable time before; for in the consulate of Lucius Cæsar and Publius Rutilius, an hundred and nineteen years from the present, all Italy took arms against the Romans. Though this unfortunate business took its beginning from the Asculans, (who killed Servius a prætor, and Fonteius a lieutenant-general,) yet, from them it soon reached the Marsians, and spread itself through every quarter of the country.

As the subsequent sufferings of those people were severe, so was their cause strictly just : for they claimed the privileges of a country, whose empire they supported by their arms ; at all times, and in every war, they furnished a double number of men, both horse and foot, yet they were not admitted to the privileges of the state, which had been raised by them to that very eminence from which it could look down with disdain on men of the same nation and blood, as aliens, and foreigners. This war consumed above three hundred thousand of the youth of Italy. The Roman commanders most distinguished in it were, Cneius Pompey, father of Cneius Pompey the Great ; Caius Marius before-mentioned, Lucius Sulla, who was prætor in the preceding year, and Quintus Metellus son of Numidicus, who deservedly obtained the surname of Pius : — for his father having been banished by Lucius Saturninus, plebeian tribune, because he alone refused to swear obedience to his laws, the son by his dutiful exertions procured his recal, sanctioned by the judgment of the senate, and the approbation of the Roman people. So that neither his triumphs, nor his honours, conferred greater glory on Numidicus, than did the

BOOK  
II.

BOOK cause of his exile, the exile itself, and his  
II. return from it.

XVI. The most remarkable leaders of the Italians were Silo Poppædus, Herius Asinius, Titus Vettius Cato, Caius Pontius Telesinus, Marius Egnatius and Papius Mutilus. Nor shall a mistaken modesty induce me to withhold any part of the praise due to my own family, while I do not exceed the truth, for much honour ought to be paid to the memory of Minatius Magius of Asculum, my ancestor in the sixth degree. He was grandson of Decius Magius, a man of high distinction among the Campanians, and of remarkable fidelity, and he displayed in this war such a faithful attachment to the Romans, that, with a legion which he himself had raised among the Hirpinians, he with Titus Didius took Herculaneum, and in conjunction with Lucius Sulla besieged Pompeii, and gained possession of Cosa. His virtues have been celebrated by several writers, and very copiously and clearly by Hortensius in his annals. The Roman people amply recompensed his loyalty, by unanimously voting him a citizen, and electing his two sons prætors, at a time when only six were elected.

So variable and violent was the fortune of the Italian war, that in the course of two successive years, two Roman consuls, Rutilius and after him Porcius Cato, were slain by the enemy, and the armies of the Roman people discomfited in many places, so that a general mourning took place and was long continued. The enemy chose as capital of their empire the city of Corfinium, which they named Italicum. The strength of the Romans was afterwards recruited, though slowly, by admitting into the state such as either had not taken arms, or had laid them down early, while the commonwealth debilitated and ready to sink, was restored to vigour by the exertions of Pompey, Sulla, and Marius.

XVII. In consequence of the Italian war, the Romans chose, after being exhausted themselves, to communicate their privileges to certain states, that were vanquished and nearly crushed; rather than to the whole when their strength was unimpaired. It was now near a close, some remains of it only subsisting at Nola, when the consulship was filled by Quintus Pompey, and Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the latter a man, who before  
he

**BOOK** he had subdued his competitors could not be  
 { **II.** sufficiently commended, nor after that too  
 severely censured. He was born of a noble family, being the sixth in descent from Cornelius Rufinus, one of the most celebrated commanders in the war of Pyrrhus, but in consequence of the family having for some time lost its splendour, he conducted himself through a great part of his life in such a manner, that he did not seem to harbour a thought of the consulship. However, after his prætorship, having acquired a good share of reputation in the Italian war, as he had before gained when lieutenant-general under Marius in Gaul, where he defeated some of the enemy's most eminent commanders; he assumed courage from success, and standing candidate for the consulship, carried it by the almost unanimous suffrage of his countrymen. When he attained this honour, he was in the forty-ninth year of his age.

**XVIII.** Nearly at this time Mithridates King of Pontus,—a personage who should neither be passed by without notice, nor be slightly mentioned; most vigorous in war, excelling in courage, pre-eminent above all others, sometimes in success, always in spirit;  
 in

in council a general, in action a soldier, and in hatred to the Romans another Hannibal; — seized upon Asia after putting to death all the Roman citizens found there : for he sent letters to each of the states, filled with promises of great rewards, and ordering them all to be slain on the same day and hour. None at this time equalled the Rhodians, either in brave exertions against Mithridates, or in firm attachment to the Romans, and a lustre was thrown on their fidelity by the perfidy of the Mitylenæans, who gave up in chains to Mithridates, Marcus Aquillius and several others. Yet these people were afterwards restored to freedom by Pompey, to gratify one Theophanes. Mithridates becoming formidable seemed to threaten Italy, when the province of Asia fell to the lot of Sulla. After leaving Rome, he staid some time at Nola, for that city, as if repenting of the uncommon fidelity, which it had maintained during the Punic war, continued in arms with inveterate obstinacy, and was then besieged by a Roman army. In the meantime, Publius Sulpicius a plebeian tribune possessing in a very extensive degree eloquence, activity, wealth, interest, and the attachment of friends, together with genius  
and

BOOK  
II.

**BOOK** and spirit, though he had formerly with the  
**II.** most upright intentions obtained from the  
people the highest dignity in the state, yet as  
if disgusted at his own virtues, and as if his  
good designs had met a bad issue, became all  
at once depraved and violent, and enlisted  
himself in the party of Caius Marius, who  
after the end of his seventieth year, still  
coveted every command, and every province.  
He proposed a law to the people, which an-  
nulled Sulla's commission, and decreed the  
conduct of the war with Mithridates to Caius  
Marius; likewise several other laws of per-  
nicious and fatal tendency, such as could not  
be endured in a free state. He even by  
means of some emissaries of his faction, put  
to death a son of the consul Quintus Pompey,  
who was also son-in-law of Sulla.

**XIX.** On this, Sulla collected a body of  
troops, and returned to the city, took posses-  
sion of it by force of arms, expelled twelve  
promotors of these pernicious measures,  
among whom were Marius, his son, and Pub-  
lius Sulpicius, at the same time procuring a  
law to be passed declaring them exiles. Some  
horsemen overtaking Sulpicius in the Lau-  
rentian marshes, slew him, and his head being  
raised

raised on high, and shewn from the rostrum, **BOOK**  
served as an omen of the approaching pro- **II.**  
scription. Marius, after his sixth consulship  
and his seventieth year, was found naked,  
and covered with mud, having only his eyes  
and nose above the surface, among the reeds  
at the edge of the lake of Marica, where he  
had hidden himself, to avoid the pursuit of  
Sulla's horsemen. He was taken out, and,  
with a cord about his neck, dragged to the  
prison of Minturnæ, by order of the two  
colonial commissioners. A public servant, by  
nation a German, who happened to have  
been taken prisoner by that general in the  
Cimbrian war, was sent with a sword to kill  
him; but no sooner did he discover Marius,  
than, uttering a loud exclamation of horror  
at the indignity of the situation into which  
so great a man had fallen, he threw away the  
weapon and ran out of the prison. His  
countrymen, thus taught by his enemy to  
commiserate the man who was lately the first  
in the nation, supplied him with clothes and  
provision for a voyage, and put him on board  
a ship. Near the island Ænaria he overtook  
his son, and then steered his course to Africa,  
where, in a hut among the ruins of Carthage  
he lived in a state of indigence. In this situ-  
ation,

**BOOK** ation, Marius viewing Carthage, and her sons  
**II.** beholding him, might afford each other some  
 consolation.

**XX.** In this year occurred the first instance of soldiers imbruing their hands in the blood of a Roman consul. For Pompey, Sulla's colleague, was slain by the troops of Cneius Pompey, in a mutiny excited by their leader. Cinna shewed not more moderation than Marius and Sulpicius; for although the rights of Rome had been granted to Italy, under the condition that the new members should be enrolled in eight tribes, (lest their power and numbers might detract from the dignity of the original citizens, and the receivers of a kindness be more powerful than their benefactors,) he now promised that he would distribute them through all the tribes; and on this account, had called together in the city, an immense multitude from all parts of the country. But he was driven out of Rome by the power of his colleague and of the nobles; and while he was on his way to Campania, the consulship was taken from him by a vote of the senate, and Lucius Cornelius Metula, flamen of Jove, was substituted in his place; which illegal proceeding, however suited

suited to the demerits of the man, cannot be approved as a precedent. Cinna, after first bribing the tribunes and centurions, and then gaining over the soldiers by promises of largesses, was received as leader by the army at Nola, and when the whole had sworn obedience to him, he, retaining the ensigns of consul, turned their arms against his country. But his chief dependance was on the vast number of the new citizens, of whom he had enlisted above three hundred cohorts, and filled up the compliment of thirty legions. His party stood in need of men of character and influence ; and in order to gain more of these, he recalled from exile Caius Marius, his son, and the others who had been banished with him.

XXI. Cneius Pompey, father of Pompey the Great, had performed memorable services to the state in the Marsian war, especially in the Picenian country, as we mentioned before, and had taken Asculum, near which city, while the troops were dispersed in various parts, seventy-five Roman citizens, in the course of one day, maintained a conflict against more than sixty thousand Italians. But while Cinna now waged war on his country,

this

## BOOK

## II.

this man being disappointed in his hope of re-election to the consulship, became equivocal and undetermined in his conduct. In all his proceedings, he was actuated by his own private emolument, and lay in wait for opportunities of turning himself and his army to this side and that, as either shewed a greater prospect of power. At last, however, he fought a long and furious battle with Cinna; and as this engagement was carried on, and concluded, under the very walls, and in the view of the city of Rome, words can hardly express the agonies of anxiety, with which the issue was expected, both by the combatants and the spectators. Soon after, while both armies as if not sufficiently exhausted by the sword, were grievously afflicted by a pestilence, Cneius Pompey died: but the joy occasioned by his death, was in a great measure counterbalanced by the loss of so many citizens, cut off by the sword, or sickness. The Roman people vented on his corpse, the resentment which they owed to him when alive. Whether there were two or three families of the Pompey's, Quintus Pompey was the first consul of that name, with Cneius Servilius, about an hundred and sixty-eight years ago. Marius and Cinna, after many bloody conflicts,

licts, made themselves masters of the city : **BOOK**  
Cinna entered it first, and procured an order **II.**  
for the admission of Marius.

XXII. Then Caius Marius made his entry into the city, — an entry fatal to his countrymen. There would be no instance of an event more cruel in its consequences, than the success of these men, had not that of Sulla quickly followed. Nor was their licentious cruelty confined to the middling ranks ; men of the most exalted stations, and most eminent characters, were destroyed under various kinds of sufferings ; and among these the consul Octavius, a man of the mildest disposition, was slain by order of Cinna. Merula, who on the approach of Cinna had resigned the consulship, opened his veins, and sprinkling the blood on the altars, imprecated curses on Cinna and his party, from the same gods, whom he, as flamen of Jove, had often addressed in favour of the republic, and then resigned a life, which had greatly served the state. Marc Anthony, the first of statesmen, and of orators, was, by order of Marius and Cinna, stabbed by the soldiers ; though even these were so much affected by his eloquence, that they hesitated

F

for

**BOOK** for some time to give the blow. **Quintus**

**II.**

Catulus, justly celebrated for his many virtues, besides the fame acquired in the Cimbrian war, wherein he and Marius were joint sharers, when search was made for him by executioners, shut himself up in a place lately plaistered with mortar, had fire brought in to raise a strong smell, and then, by inhaling the noxious vapour, and shutting in his breath, he found a death agreeable to the wishes, though not to the directions of his enemies. All things were falling rapidly into ruin, but no person was yet found, who dared to make donations of the property of a Roman citizen, or who presumed to ask for such. Afterwards this additional evil was introduced, guilt was measured by the amount of wealth; whoever was rich, was criminal; each man became as an hire for procuring his own danger; and nothing that produced gain to the proscribers, was deemed scandalous.

XXIII. Cinna now entered on his second consulship, and Marius on his seventh, to the utter disgrace of the former six. Soon after its commencement he fell sick and died, leaving the character of a temper perfectly implacable,

cable, in war toward his enemies, in peace toward his countrymen, and of a disposition that could never endure quiet. In his room was substituted Valerius Flaccus, the author of a most dishonourable law, which compelled creditors to compound for a fourth part of the debts; for which iniquitous proceeding he met deserved punishment within two years after. While Cinna tyrannised in Italy, the greater part of the nobility fled into Achaia to Sulla, and thence afterwards into Asia. Meanwhile Sulla was so successful in his operations against the generals of Mithridates, near Athens, in Bœotia, and Macedonia, that he recovered Athens; and, after expending a vast deal of labour in reducing the numerous fortifications of the Piræean harbour, he slew above two hundred thousand of the enemy, and took at least as many prisoners. If any person imputes the guilt of rebellion to the Athenians, at this time when their city was besieged by Sulla, he is certainly ignorant of the truth, and of history. For so invariable was the fidelity of the Athenians to the Romans, that always, and in every case, whatever was performed with perfect good faith, the Romans used to say, was done with "Attic faith." But that people, overpowered

BOOK  
II.

**BOOK II.** by Mithridates, were in a most miserable condition, held in subjection by their enemies, besieged by their friends, and while their inclinations were outside the walls, compelled by necessity to keep their persons within. Sulla, then passing over to Asia, found Mithridates submissive and compliant in every particular. He made him pay a fine in money, and deliver up half of his ships; forced him to retire out of Asia, and all the other provinces, which he seized by force, recovered the prisoners, punished the deserters and the guilty, and ordered the King to confine himself within his father's territory, that is, Pontus.

XXIV. Caius Flavius Fimbria, who before Sulla's arrival was general of horse, had put to death Valerius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, had assumed the command of the army, had been saluted by the title of Imperator, and had been fortunate enough to get the better of Mithridates in battle; but on the approach of Sulla, he slew himself. He was a young man most wicked in his plans, and daring in their execution. In the same year Publius Lænas, a plebeian tribune, threw from the Tarpeian rock Sextus Lucilius, who had

held that office the year before, and summoned his colleagues to a trial: but they through fear fled to Sulla, on which he procured an order of banishment against them. Sulla, having now adjusted all affairs beyond sea, and having the first of all the Romans received ambassadors from the Parthians, some of whom, being magicians, foretold from tokens observed on his body, that his fame would be immortal, sailed home to Italy, landing at Brundisium not more than thirty thousand men, to oppose two hundred thousand of his enemies. I can hardly observe any part of Sulla's conduct, that deserves greater applause than this,—that, while the party of Marius and Cinna held Italy in subjection, during three years, he never dissembled his intention of turning his arms against them, though he did not relinquish the business in which he was engaged. For he judged it proper to reduce an enemy, before he took vengeance on a countryman; so that when apprehension of a foreign foe should be removed, and after he should have conquered all opposition abroad, he should then overcome any troubles which existed at home. Before the arrival of Lucius Sulla, however, Cinna was slain in a mutiny of soldiers. Such a man deserved to

**BOOK** die by the hand of an executioner, rather  
**II.** than by that of a soldier. Still it may be  
 truly said of him, that he dared what no good  
 man would dare, and accomplished what none  
 but the bravest could accomplish. That he  
 was precipitate in judging, but in executing,  
 manly. Carbo did not elect a colleague in  
 his room, but continued sole consul through  
 all the rest of the year.

XXV. You would think that Sulla came  
 into Italy, not to make war, but to conciliate  
 peace, so quietly did he lead his army through  
 Calabria and Apulia into Campania, taking  
 the greatest care of the fruits, lands, inhabi-  
 tants, and cities. He certainly did endeavour  
 to effect a termination of the war on terms  
 of justice and equitable conditions, but peace  
 could not be agreeable to those whose pas-  
 sions were depraved and uncontrolled. In  
 the meantime Sulla's army increased daily;  
 for all the best and the wisest flocked to his  
 standard. Then, by a happy concurrence of  
 events, he overcame the consuls Scipio and  
 Norbanus near Capua. Norbanus he con-  
 quered in battle; and Scipio, who was de-  
 serted by his troops and delivered into his  
 hands, he dismissed in safety. Sulla dif-  
 fered

ferred so much in the characters of warrior and conqueror, that while he was advancing toward victory, he was to be ranked among the mildest, but after it was obtained, more cruel than any on record. Thus he dismissed the disarmed consul, as we have said, and in like manner Sertorius, the firebrand which soon after kindled so great a war, and many others who fell into his power: so that he affords, in my opinion, a conspicuous instance of two distinct and most opposite minds in the same person. After the victory which, on his descent from Mount Tifata, he gained over Caius Norbanus, he gave solemn thanks to Diana, to which deity that tract is deemed sacred, and dedicated to the goddess the waters so much celebrated for their salubrity, and the cure of diseases, with all the adjacent grounds. The memory of this religious gratitude is preserved to this day, by an inscription on a pillar at the door of her temple, and another on a brazen tablet within.

XXVI. The next consuls were Carbo, a third time, and Caius Marius, son of him who had been seven times consul; the latter was then twenty-six years old, and inherited his father's spirit, though without his experience.

**BOOK II.** He made many courageous efforts, and in all

**II.** supported the character of consul; but being defeated in battle by Sulla, at Sacriportus, he retired with his army to Præneste, which was naturally strong, and was garrisoned by his troops. To fill up the measure of the public calamities in that state, where it ever had been customary with men to vie with each other in virtues, they now vied in crimes, and he valued himself as the best who had proved himself the worst. Thus Damasippus, then prætor, during the contest at Sacriportus, murdered in the Hostilian senate-house, as abettors of Sulla's party, Lucius Domitius, Scævola, who was chief pontiff, and very highly celebrated for his knowledge of the laws, both divine and human, Caius Carbo of prætorian rank, brother of the consul, and Antistius, who had been ædile. Let not Calpurnia, daughter of Bestia, wife of Antistius, lose the renown of a very glorious act. When her husband was put to death, as we have said, she stabbed herself with a sword. What an accession of glory and fame to her family. Her merit shines conspicuous; her father's is buried in obscurity.

XXVII. At

XXVII. At this time, Pontius Telesinus, a **BOOK**  
Sannite general, remarkable for resolution in **H.**  
war and peace, and a most bitter enemy to all  
the race of Romans, collected about forty  
thousand young men of the greatest bravery,  
and the most determined obstinacy in con-  
tinuing the war; and in the consulate of  
Carbo and Marius, an hundred and eleven  
years from the present, on the calends of  
November, maintained such a fight with Sulla  
at the Colline gate, as brought him and the  
republic into the utmost peril: nor was the  
state in more imminent danger when Han-  
nibal's camp was seen within three miles of  
the city, than on that day, when Telesinus,  
flying about among the ranks of his country-  
men, and, averring that this was the last day  
of the Romans, exhorted them in a loud voice  
to destroy the city, adding, that they would  
never get rid of those wolves, the devourers  
of Italian liberty, until the woods that af-  
forded them refuge were cut down. At  
length, after the first hour of the night, the  
Roman troops took breath, and those of the  
enemy retired. Next day Telesinus was found  
mortally wounded, but wearing the looks of a  
conqueror, rather than of a man at the point  
of death. Sulla ordered his head to be cut  
off,

**BOOK** off, and carried round the walls of Præneste  
**II.** within view of the town. Young Caius Marius, then at length seeing his case desperate, endeavoured to make his way out through subterraneous passages, which had been wrought with wonderful labour, and led to different parts of the adjacent country: but as soon as he emerged from the same, he was slain by persons stationed there for the purpose. Some say, that he fell by his own hand; others, that he and his younger brother Telesinus, who had been shut up with him, and was attempting to escape, dispatched each other with mutual wounds. In whatever manner he died, his memory, even at this day, is not obscured by the grand reputation of his father. What was Sulla's opinion of this youth is manifest; for after his death, and not before, he assumed the title of Fælix (the fortunate): and most just would have been his claim to it, if his victories and his life had ended together. The commander of the forces that besieged Marius in Præneste was Lucretius Ofella, who had been attached to the party of Marius, and deserted to Sulla. The happy issue of that day, on which Telesinus and the Samnite army were repulsed, Sulla honoured with perpetual commemoration

tion in Circensian games, which are exhibited under the title of "Sulla's Victory."

BOOK  
II.

XXVIII. In a short space before Sulla's success at Sacriportus, several officers of his party had gained important victories over the enemy; the two Servilii at Clusium, Metellus Pius at Faventia, and Marcus Lucullus near Fidentia. The miseries of civil war seemed now to be at an end, when they were renewed with additional violence by Sulla. He was invested with the dictatorship, an office which had been in disuse an hundred and twenty years, for the last was in the year subsequent to Hannibal's departure from Italy; which evinces, that the Roman people did not so much value the advantages accruing from that office, as they dreaded its power: and this power, which had been formerly employed in preserving the state from imminent dangers, he used with all the wantonness of unrestrained cruelty. He first invented the plan of proscription, — would he had been the last that practised it! — and the consequences were, that in a state where justice is administered to the most despicable buffoon, in case of verbal abuse, there, the hire for murdering a Roman citizen was publicly proclaimed; he gained

**BOOK** gained the largest property who had committed the most murders; nor was the reward for the head of an enemy higher than for that of a citizen. He vented not his barbarous rage on those only who had borne arms against him, but on many who could not be charged with any guilt. Beside this, the goods of the proscribed were sold, and the children, after being excluded from the property of their fathers, were also deprived of the right of suing for places of honour; thus, what was most unreasonable, the sons of senators were obliged to undergo the burdens of their situation, and at the same time lost their privileges.

XXIX. A short time before Lucius Sulla's arrival in Italy, Cneius Pompey, son of that Pompey whose great exploits in the Marsian war, when he was consul, we have mentioned above, being at this time twenty-three years of age, an hundred and thirteen years ago,—out of his own private resources, and his own judgment, formed grand designs, and as grandly put them in execution. With intent to assert and restore the dignity of his country, he collected a strong army from the district of Picenum, which was entirely filled with his father's

father's clients. A just delineation of this **BOOK**  
man's great character would fill many vo- **II.**  
lumes; my scanty limits confine me to a few  
words. His mother was of the Lucilian race,  
his family was senatorian; he excelled in  
beauty, not such as adorns the bloom of life,  
but dignified and serene; and as this was well  
adapted to his elevated dignity and station,  
so it accompanied him to the last day of his  
life. He possessed a highly moral disposi-  
tion, the strictest integrity of conduct, with a  
moderate share of eloquence. He was exces-  
sively covetous of power when conferred on  
him out of regard to his merit, and not of  
such as he might acquire by irregular means.  
In war, he was the most skilful of generals;  
in peace, the most modest of citizens, except  
when he apprehended that he might have an  
equal. He was constant in his friendships,  
moderate in case of difference in opinion,  
cordial in reconciliation, and most ready to  
admit an apology. He never, or very rarely,  
made a stretch of power, and was almost ex-  
empt from vice, unless it be reckoned one  
that, in a free state, (the mistress of the world,  
where, in right, every fellow-citizen was his  
equal,) he could not endure to see any  
one raised to a level with him in dignity.

From

**BOOK** From the time of his assuming the manly  
**II.** gown, he was trained to war under the guidance of his father, a general of consummate judgment; and he improved a genius naturally good, and capable of attaining all useful knowledge, with such singular skill in military business, that while Sertorius gave higher praise to Metellus, he stood in greater dread of Pompey.

XXX. At this time Marcus Perperna, of prætorian rank, one of the proscribed, whose family was more respectable than his disposition, assassinated Sertorius during supper at Osca; and by this execrable deed purchased a certain victory for the Romans, destruction for his own party, and a most shameful death for himself. Metellus and Pompey triumphed over Spain. Even at the time of this triumph, Pompey was still a Roman knight; yet on the day preceding the commencement of his consulship, he rode through the city in his chariot. Is it not matter of wonder, that this man, elevated to the summit of dignity through so many extraordinary gradations of preferment, should take umbrage at the Roman senate and people in admitting Caius Cæsar a candidate for a  
second

second consulship ? It shews how apt men are **BOOK**  
 to overlook every thing in their own cases, **II.**  
 and to allow no kind of indulgence to others ;  
 measuring their dislike of proceedings, not by  
 the merits of the case, but by their own wishes  
 and conceived characters. In this consulate,  
 Pompey restored the tribunitian power, of  
 which Sulla had left the shadow without the  
 substance. While the war of Sertorius con-  
 tinued in Spain, sixty-seven vagabonds,  
 headed by Spartacus, made their escape out  
 of a gladiator's school at Capua; and, forcibly  
 supplying themselves with swords in that  
 city, directed their course at first to Mount  
 Vesuvius. Afterwards, increasing daily in  
 numbers, they brought many and grievous  
 disasters on Italy. At length they became  
 so numerous, that in their last battle they  
 opposed forty thousand men to the Roman  
 army. The honour of terminating this war  
 fell to Marcus Crassus, who soon after be-  
 came one of the heads of the whole Roman  
 people.

XXXI. The character of Cneius Pompey  
 had attracted the admiration of the whole  
 world, and he was deemed something more  
 than man. In the consulship he had very

II

lauda-

**BOOK** laudably taken an oath, that, on the expira-  
**II.** tion of his office, he would not take the go-  
vernment of any province; and this oath he  
had observed, when two years after, Aulus Ga-  
binus, a plebeian tribune, got a law passed,  
that, whereas certain pirates kept the world  
under continual apprehensions with their  
fleets, acting more in the manner of regular  
war than of predatory excursions, and had  
even plundered several cities in Italy; that  
therefore Cneius Pompey should be com-  
missioned to suppress them; and should  
have authority equal to that of the procon-  
suls, in all the provinces, to the distance of  
fifty miles from the sea. By which decree,  
the government of almost the whole world  
was vested in one man. However, a law of  
the like kind had been made two years be-  
fore in respect of Marc Anthony when  
prætor: but as the character of the person  
concerned renders the precedent more or  
less pernicious, so it augments or diminishes  
men's disapprobation of the proceeding. In  
the case of Anthony they acquiesced without  
displeasure, because people rarely conceive  
any jealousy on the preferment of those  
whose power they do not fear: on the con-  
trary, they look with dread on extraordinary  
powers

powers being lodged in the hands of persons, BOOK  
II.  
 who seem able either to retain or resign them at their own choice, and who are limited merely by their own inclination. The party of the nobles opposed the measure, but prudence was overcome by party violence.

XXXII. It is proper to mention here, an instance of the moderation of Quintus Catulus, and of the high estimation in which he was held. Arguing against this decree in the assembly, he said, that undoubtedly Pompey was a man of very great merit, but he was already too great for a member of a free state: all power ought not to be reposed on one individual: adding these words,—“ If any thing shall happen to that man, whom will ye substitute in his place?” To which the whole assembly answered aloud, “ Yourself, Quintus Catulus.” On this, being overcome by the general concurrence of opinion, and by such an honourable testimony of the public esteem, he withdrew from the assembly. Here it is pleasing to admire the modesty of the man and the justice of the people; his modesty in desisting from pressing his opinion farther; their justice, in proving themselves unwilling to defraud him of a testimony of esteem, due

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to

**BOOK** to his merit, though he was arguing against  
**II.** and opposing their inclinations. About the  
same time, Cotta divided equally between the  
two orders the right of becoming judges,  
which Caius Gracchus had taken from the  
senate, and bestowed on the knights; and  
which Sulla had transferred from them to the  
senators. Roscius Otho now restored to the  
knights their places in the theatre. Cneius  
Pompey having engaged many officers of  
great abilities to assist him in the war, and  
having formed a navy sufficient to command  
every part of the sea, very soon, with his  
invincible hand, freed the world from appre-  
hension, defeated the pirates in many en-  
gagements in various places, and, attacking  
them on the coast of Cilicia, gave them a final  
overthrow. In order to finish the sooner  
a war so widely diffused, he collected the  
remains of these people together, and ap-  
pointed them a fixed residence, in a country  
remote from the sea. Some blame this step:  
but while we ought perhaps to be satisfied  
with the proceeding of such a man, reason  
makes any person a competent judge of its  
propriety. Enabling them to live without  
plundering, he of course diverted them from  
such practice.

**XXXIII.** The

XXXIII. The war of the pirates was now **BOOK**  
near a conclusion, but that with Mithridates **II.**  
was still carried on by Lucullus, who, on the  
expiration of his consulship, seven years before, had been appointed governor of Asia, where he was to oppose that monarch, and had performed great and memorable actions, having often defeated him in various places, relieved Cyzicum by a glorious victory, and vanquished Tigranes in Armenia, the greatest king of the age. He was now rather unwilling, than unable, to put the finishing hand to the war; but, though in all other respects highly commendable, and almost invincible, he had such a passion for riches, as caused the loss of his government. While affairs were in this state, Manilius, a plebeian tribune, always venal, and the tool of men in power, proposed an order, that the war with Mithridates should be conducted by Cneius Pompey. This order was passed; and a quarrel ensued between the two commanders, attended with violent altercations. Pompey reproached Lucullus with his scandalous love of money, and Lucullus railed at Pompey's inordinate ambition, while neither could disprove the imputation laid against him. For Pompey, from his first engagement in public business,

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could

**BOOK** II. could never with patience endure an equal, and in cases where he was entitled to the first share of honour, he wished to engross the whole; no man in short being less covetous of all things else, or more so of glory. In his pursuit of employments of honour, he was immoderate; yet in office, his administration shewed perfect moderation. Though he entered into business with pleasure, he quitted it without regret, resigning at the will of others, what his own wishes had induced him to solicit. Lucullus, in other particulars a very great man, was the first introducer of the luxury which now prevails in buildings, entertainments, and furniture; so that, in allusion to the structures which he raised in the sea, and his conducting the sea into the land, through passages dug under mountains, Pompey the Great used facetiously to call him, "Xerxes in a Roman gown."

XXXIV. About that time, the island of Crete was reduced under the dominion of the Roman people by Quintus Metellus. The Roman troops had undergone much fatigue there during three years, in consequence of the exertions of two commanders, Panares and Lasthenes, who drew together twenty-four

four thousand young men, swift of foot, perfectly qualified to endure the toil of fighting and of labour, and remarkably skilled in archery. Cneius Pompey did not restrain his wishes of participating even the renown acquired there, but attempted to claim a share in the success. However, their own singular merits, and the general disgust at Pompey entertained by all the best men, turned the favour of the public towards the triumphs of Lucullus and Metellus. Soon after, Marcus Cicero, who was indebted to himself for all his promotions, the noblest of all the new men, of excellent character and great abilities, to whom we are obliged for our not being conquered in genius by those whom we conquered in arms; was appointed consul, and with extraordinary courage, firmness, vigilance, and activity, detected a conspiracy formed by Sergius Catiline, Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of both the higher orders. Catiline was compelled to fly from the city, by his fear of the consul's power. Lentulus, who had been consul and was then in his second prætorship, Cethegus, and several others of great note, were, by the consul's order under the authority of the senate, put to death in prison.

BOOK  
II.

**BOOK** XXXV. That day of the senate's meeting,  
**IL** on which these transactions passed, displayed  
in the brightest colours the virtue of Marcus Cato, which on many prior occasions had shone conspicuous, and with peculiar lustre. He was great-grandson of Marcus Cato, the founder of the Porcian family, a man who exactly resembled virtue itself, and with respect to disposition in every particular approached nearer to the gods than to mankind; who never acted rightly, that he might appear so to do, but because he could not act otherwise; who never thought any thing reasonable, that was not likewise just: exempt in a word from every vice, he kept fortune always in his own power. He was then very young, and plebeian tribune elect; some had advised that Lentulus and the other conspirators should be kept in custody in the free-towns; but when he, almost among the last, was asked his opinion, he inveighed against the conspiracy with such energy and eloquence, that, by the warmth of his discourse, he rendered suspicious the language of all that recommended lenity, as if they were connected with the plot. So forcibly did he represent the dangers impending from the destruction and burning of the city, with the

the subversion of the established state of public affairs, and so highly did he extol the merit of the consul, that the whole senate concurred in his opinion, that capital punishment should be inflicted on those above-mentioned; and the greater part of that body escorted him to his house. But Cataline was not less resolute in the prosecution of his schemes, than he had been in forming them; for, fighting with the greatest courage, he resigned in battle, the breath which he owed to the executioner.

XXXVI. The consulate of Cicero, ninety-two years from the present, received no small accession of honour by the birth of the divine Augustus, whose greatness afterwards cast a shade of obscurity over all men of all nations. It may at present seem almost superfluous to mark the times of eminent geniuses, for who does not know that in this period flourished Cicero, Hortensius, Crassus, Cato, Sulpicius, together with Brutus, Calidius, Cœlius, Calvus, and Cæsar next in eloquence to Cicero; beside the disciples (as they may be called) of these, Corvinus, Asinius Pollio, Sallust the rival of Thucydides, and Livy who equalled Sallust; also the poets Varro, and

**BOOK** Lucretius, and Catullus, inferior to none in  
**II.** that kind of composition which he practised.

To enumerate those that are before our eyes, might hazard an imputation of folly, for, as we cannot withhold our admiration of living authors, so we find it difficult to criticize them: but the most eminent of the present age are, Virgil the prince of poets, Rabirius, Tibullus, and Naso, perfect in their respective departments.

XXXVII. During the time of these transactions in Rome and Italy, Cneius Pompey carried on the war with extraordinary success against Mithridates; who, after the departure of Lucullus, had formed a new army of very great force. But the King being routed, and put to flight, and stripped of all his forces, went into Armenia, to his son-in-law Tigranes, the most powerful king of that age, notwithstanding the reduction of his strength by the arms of Lucullus. Pompey therefore, in pursuit of both, entered Armenia. First, the son of Tigranes, who was at variance with his father, came over to him, and soon after, Tigranes in a suppliant manner surrendering himself and his kingdom to his disposal; previously declaring, that there was  
no

no man, either of the Roman or of any other nation, to whose honour he would entrust himself, but Cneius Pompey: wherefore any condition, whether favourable or adverse, that he should direct, would be tolerable to him. It was no disgrace to be conquered, nor dishonourable to submit to him whom fortune had elevated above all men. The King was allowed to retain the honour of sovereignty, but was mulcted in a vast sum of money; the whole of which, according to Pompey's constant practice, was lodged in the hands of the quæstor, and registered in the public accounts. Syria and the other provinces which he had seized, were taken from him; some were restored to the Roman people. Others then first came under its dominion, as Syria, which at that time became tributary. The King's dominion was confined to Armenia.

XXXVIII. It seems not inconsistent with the plan laid down for this work, to give a brief account of the several states and nations that have been reduced into the form of provinces, and made tributary; and of the commanders who effected this, that the whole, being comprized in one view, may be more easily

**BOOK** easily understood, than in detached narra-  
**II.** tions. The first who carried over an army to  
Sicily, was the consul Claudius; and about  
fifty-two years after that, Claudius Marcellus,  
on the taking of Syracuse, made it a pro-  
vince. Regulus carried hostilities into Africa,  
about the ninth year of the first Punic war;  
but an hundred and five years after, (an  
hundred and seventy-five from the present,)  
Publius Scipio Æmilianus, on the destruction  
of Carthage, reduced Africa under provincial  
regulations. Sardinia submitted to a perma-  
nent yoke of government between the first and  
second Punic wars, through the conduct of  
Titus Manlius consul. It is a convinc-  
ing proof of the warlike disposition of the  
nation, that the shutting of the temple of  
double-faced Janus gave indication of gene-  
ral peace, only once under the kings, a second  
time in the consulate of this Titus Manlius,  
and a third time in the reign of Augustus.  
The first who led armies into Spain were the  
two Scipios, Cneius and Publius, in the be-  
ginning of the second Punic war, two hun-  
dred and fifty years ago; after that, our pos-  
sessions there varied, and were often partly  
lost, but the whole was made tributary by the  
arms of Augustus. Paullus subdued Mace-  
donia,

donia, Mummius Achaia, Fulvius Nobilior **BOOK II.**  
 Ætolia. Lucius Scipio, brother of Africanus, took Asia from Antiochus, but after it had been possessed some time by the Attalic family, through the kindness of the Roman senate and people, Marcus Perpenna, having taken Aristonicus prisoner, laid it under tribute. No person can claim the honour of having subdued Cyprus, for it was in consequence of a decree of the senate, the management of Cato, and the death of its king, which, conscious of guilt, he inflicted on himself, that it became a province. Crete was punished, under the command of Metellus, with the loss of its long-enjoyed liberty, and Syria and Pontus are monuments of the bravery of Cneius Pompey.

XXXIX. Gaul was first entered with an army by Domitius, and Fabius the grandson of Paullus, who got the title of Allobrogicus ; and in after times, we often, with great detriment to ourselves, made acquisitions there, and lost them. But the most splendid achievement of Caius Cæsar is there conspicuous, for, through his conduct and auspices, it was so reduced, that it tamely pays almost the same tribute as all the rest of the world. By the

**BOOK** the same commanders Numidia was made  
**II.** a province. Isauricus completely subdued  
Cilicia, and Manlius Vulso Gallogrecia, after  
the war of Antiochus. Bithynia, as we have  
said, was left as an inheritance by the will of  
Nicomedes. The divine Augustus, beside  
Spain and other nations, the inscription of  
whose names decorate his forum, by making  
Egypt tributary, brought into the treasury  
almost as great a revenue as his father had, by  
the reduction of Gaul. But Tiberius Cæsar  
extorted from the Illyrians and Dalmatians  
as explicit a confession of subjection as his  
parent had from the Spaniards, and annexed  
to our empire as new provinces, Rhætia, Vin-  
delicia, Noricum, Parmonia, and the Scordis-  
cians. As he reduced these by arms, so, by  
the influence of his name, he made Cappa-  
docia tributary to the Roman people. But  
let us return to the course of our narrative.

XL. Then followed the military exploits  
of Cneius Pompey, of which it is hard to tell,  
whether the glory or the toil was greater.  
Attended by victory, he traversed Media,  
Albania, Iberia, and then turned the direc-  
tion of his march to the nations inhabiting  
the right side and the interior of Pontus,  
the

the Colchians, Heniochians, and Achæans. BOOK  
II.  
Mithridates, sinking under the fortune of Pompey, and the treachery of his own son Pharnaces, was the last of independent kings, excepting the Parthian. Thus Pompey, victorious over every nation that he had visited, become greater than the wish of his countrymen, or even than his own, having in every particular surpassed the lot of human kind, returned to Italy. His return gave great satisfaction to the public, in consequence of an opinion that had been entertained; for most people confidently said, that he would not come into the city without his army, and that he would fix such limits as he liked, to the liberties of the people. The more strongly they were affected by this apprehension, the more pleasing was the unassuming manner in which that great commander returned. For he disbanded his whole army at Brundisium, retaining merely the title of general, and with his own retinue, with which he was always accustomed to travel, came home to Rome; where, during two days, he exhibited a most magnificent triumph over so many kings, and, out of the spoils, conveyed to the treasury a much larger sum of money than had been known in any former instance, excepting

**BOOK** II. **II.** cepting that of Paullus. During the absence of Cneius Pompey, Titus Ampius and Titus Labienus, plebeian tribunes, got a law passed, that at games in the Circus he might wear a crown of laurel, and all the dress worn in triumphs; and at exhibitions on the stage, a purple-bordered robe, and laurel crown; but this privilege he never thought proper to use more than once, and, in truth, even that was too much. Fortune exalted this man's dignity, and with such large augmentations, that he triumphed first over Africa, secondly over Europe, and thirdly over Asia, rendering each part of the globe a monument of his victories. Eminent stations are never exempt from envy. In this case, Lucullus, who, however, was moved by resentment of the ill treatment shewn him, and Metellus Creticus, (who complained with justice, because Pompey had taken from him some captive leaders who were intended to have graced his triumph,) in conjunction with many of the nobles, laboured to prevent either Pompey's engagements to the several states, or his promises of rewards to the deserving, being fulfilled according to his direction.

XLI. Then

XLI. Then followed the consulship of **BOOK II.**  
Caius Cæsar, who arrests me while writing, and forces me, though in haste, to bestow some time on him. He was born of the very noble Julian family, and as all the most antient writers agree, derived his pedigree from Anchises and Venus. He was, in personal beauty, the first of all his countrymen; in vigour of mind indefatigable; liberal to excess; in spirit elevated above the nature and the conception of man; in the grandeur of his designs, the celerity of his military operations, and in the cheerfulness with which he encountered dangers, exactly resembling Alexander the Great when sober and free from passion; he used food for the sustenance of life, not for pleasure. Though he was closely connected in consanguinity with Caius Marius, and was also son-in-law to Cinna, (whose daughter he could by no means be compelled to divorce, whereas Marcus Piso, of consular rank, to gratify Sulla, had divorced Annia, who had been wife of Cinna,) and though he was about nineteen years old when Sulla became master of the state, yet the ministers and assistants of Sulla, more than himself, made search for him, in order to kill him; on which he changed his clothes, and, putting on a mean dress,

BOOK dress, escaped out of the city in the night.

II.

Afterwards, while he was still very young, he was taken by pirates, and during the whole time while detained by them, behaved in such a manner, as filled them with both terror and veneration : nor did he ever, either by night or day, take off his shoes, or his girdle (a circumstance which should not be omitted), for he apprehended, that if he made any alteration in his usual appearance, he might become suspected by those men who hitherto guarded him only with their eyes.

XLII. It would extend to too great a length, to recount particularly all his various and numerous services or the conduct of the magistrate, who then governed Asia, and who had through timidity abandoned the interest of the Roman people. One instance shall be mentioned, as a presage of the future greatness of Cæsar. On the night following the day on which he was ransomed by the public money of several states, (which, however, he managed so as to make the pirates give hostages to those states,) he collected a squadron of private vessels hastily fitted out, and sailing to the place where the pirates were, dispersed

persed a part of their fleet, sunk a part, and took several of their ships and men, and then, delighted at the success of his night expedition, returned to his friends. Having lodged his prisoners in custody, he proceeded to Bithynia, to the pro-consul Junius, who was then governor of Asia, and requested, that he would give orders for the punishment of the prisoners. This he refused, and said he would sell them, (for he was as envious as spiritless :) on which Cæsar with incredible speed returned to the coast, and before letters from the pro-consul about the business could be conveyed to any, crucified all the prisoners.

XLIII. As he was going in haste to Italy, to take on him a priest's office;—for he had been made a pontiff in his absence, having formerly, when a mere boy, been appointed by Marius and Cinna flamen of Jove, in the room of Cotta a consular; which office, however, he lost on the success of Sulla, who annulled all their acts;—in order to avoid being descried by the pirates, who covered all the seas, and were then with good reason incensed against him, he, with two friends, and ten servants, went on board a barge of four oars, and thus crossed the most boisterous tract of

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the

**BOOK** the Adriatic sea. On his passage, having  
**II.** seen, as he thought, some ships of the pirates,  
he threw off his gown, and fastened his dagger to his side, preparing himself for all events, but soon discovered that his sight had been deceived, and that a row of trees at a distance had exhibited the appearance of the rigging of ships. The rest of his acts in the city, his celebrated accusation of Dolabella, and the uncommon degree of public favour shewn in that case, his remarkable political contests with Quintus Catulus, and other very eminent men, his having, before he was prætor, carried the election to the office of chief pontiff against Quintus Catulus, who was allowed by all to be the first man in the senate, his repairing in his ædileship the monuments of Caius Marius even in opposition to the nobility, his restoring at the same time to the sons of the proscribed the right of obtaining dignities, his prætorship and quæstorship discharged with wonderful courage and activity in Spain, where he was quæstor under Antistius Vetus, the grandfather of the present Vetus, who is now a man of consular rank, and a pontiff, and father of two consulars, and priests, and who possesses as much goodness, as can be conceived to flow from honest integrity,

integrity, in any human heart,—all these **BOOK** things are so universally known, that they **II.** need not the aid of my pen.

XLIV. In this man's consulate, there was formed between him, Cneius Pompey, and Marcus Crassus, a treaty of partition of power, which proved fatal to the city, and the world, and not less so to themselves, though at different times. Pompey's reason for following this plan was, that his acts in the foreign provinces, which were censured by many, as we have mentioned before, might at last be confirmed, by means of Cæsar, while consul: Cæsar's, because he imagined, that by giving way to Pompey's glory, he should augment his own; and by throwing on him the jealousy attending the power which they held in common, he should gain stability to his own strength: Crassus's was, that he hoped to acquire, through the influence of Pompey, and the strength of Cæsar, that pre-eminence, which he never could attain by his own single efforts. An affinity also was contracted by marriage between Cæsar and Pompey, for Cneius the Great married the daughter of Caius Cæsar. The latter while consul procured a law to be passed, which was also

**BOOK** supported by Pompey, that the Campanian  
**II.** lands should be distributed to plebeians;  
in consequence of which, about twenty thousand citizens were conducted thither, and the privileges of Rome were restored to that country, about an hundred and fifty-two years after Capua had, in the Punic war, been reduced by the Romans into the form of a prefecture. Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, being more willing, than able, to obstruct his proceedings, confined himself to his house during the greater part of the year, by which conduct, while he wished to increase people's jealousy of his colleague, he only increased his power. Then it was decreed, that Cæsar should hold the province of Gaul during five years.

**XLV.** Publius Clodius, a man of noble birth, eloquent, and daring, who had no other guide for his words or actions than his own will, indefatigable in the execution of wicked projects, and charged before a court of justice for incestuous commerce with his own sisters, and for having committed adultery amidst the most solemn religious rites of the Roman people; — this man, I say, being actuated by a most violent enmity to Marcus  
Cicero,

Cicero, (how indeed could any thing like **BOOK II.** friendship subsist between men of such dissimilar characters?) at this time renounced his patrician rank, became a plebeian, was appointed a tribune, and then passed a law, that any person who put a Roman citizen to death without a judicial sentence, should be sent into banishment. Though Cicero was not named in this law, yet at him alone was it aimed. Thus a man, who had performed the most meritorious services to the state, and who had saved his country, received in recompence the calamity of exile. Cæsar and Pompey were in some degree suspected of having abetted this persecution of Cicero. The latter seemed to have drawn this on himself by refusing to be one of the twenty commissioners for dividing the lands of Campania. However, in less than two years, he was restored to his dignity and his country, by the late, but intrepid exertions of Cneius Pompey; in compliance with the wishes of all Italy, and with the decrees of the senate, and through the spirited management of Annius Milo a plebeian tribune. Since the exile and recall of Numidicus, no man's banishment excited more regret, or his return more joy.

**BOOK** joy. His house, which through the malice of  
**II.** Clodius had been demolished, the senate re-  
built with great magnificence. The same  
Publius Clodius removed Marcus Cato to a  
distance from the scene of public business,  
under the colour of giving him a very ho-  
nourable employment. For he passed a law,  
that he should be sent in character of quæ-  
stor, with the authority of prætor, attended  
also by a quæstor, into the island of Cyprus,  
to despoil Ptolemy of that kingdom, who de-  
served such treatment by his total depravity  
of manners. But before Cato's arrival, he  
put an end to his own life, and Cato brought  
home from Cyprus a much larger quantity  
of treasure, than had been expected. To  
praise such a man for being uncorrupt,  
would be a derogation from his character:  
he may be charged with some degree of arro-  
gance, for when all the people of the city,  
together with the consuls and the senate,  
poured forth to compliment him as he ap-  
proached on board-ship on the Tiber, he did  
not disembark to join them, until he arrived  
at the spot, where the treasure was to be  
landed.

XLVI. While

XLVI. While Cæsar was performing most glorious exploits in Gaul, the relation of which would require many volumes, and not content with most numerous and important victories, or with killing or taking thousands of the enemy, had afterwards transported his army into Britain, seeking, as it were, a new world for our government and his own, a celebrated pair of consuls, Cneius Pompey and Marcus Crassus, entered on their second consulship, which they neither acquired by honourable means, nor conducted in a proper manner. By a law which Pompey proposed to the people, Cæsar was continued in the government of the province during the same length of time as before; Syria was decreed to Crassus, who now meditated a war with Parthia. This man, in other respects irreproachable, and not given to dissipation, yet in his eager pursuit of money and fame, neither knew any bounds, nor admitted any restraint. When he was setting out for Syria, the plebeian tribunes endeavoured in vain to detain him, by presenting to his view omens of direful import; and if their curses had taken effect on him alone, the loss of the general, while the army was safe, would have been rather an advantage to the public.

**BOOK** Crassus had crossed the Euphrates, and was  
**II.** on his march towards Seleucia, when King  
Orodes surrounding him with an immense  
force of cavalry, slew him together with the  
greater part of the Roman army. Caius  
Cassius, (who was afterwards guilty of the  
most atrocious crime,) being at that time  
quæstor, preserved the remains of the le-  
gions; and so effectually retained Syria in  
the power of the Romans, that he routed  
the Parthians who invaded it, and compelled  
them to fly.

XLVII. During this period, that before  
spoken of, and the one that immediately fol-  
lowed, above four hundred thousand of the  
enemy were slain by Caius Cæsar, and a  
greater number taken. He fought often in  
pitched battles, often on his march, often in  
sallies; twice he penetrated into Britain; in  
short, of nine campaigns, scarcely one passed  
without his justly deserving a triumph. But  
near Alesia such great achievements were  
effected, as the powers of man could hardly  
venture to attempt, little less than those of a  
deity accomplish. In the seventh year of  
Cæsar's stay in Gaul, died Julia, wife of  
Pompey the Great, the connecting pledge of  
the

the concord between Cneius Pompey and Caius Cæsar; which, through their mutual jealousy of power, had been some time in danger of dissolution; and, as if fortune had resolved to tear asunder every tie between leaders destined to so great a contest, the little son of Pompey, born of Julia, died likewise, in a short time after. Then, while ambition extended its rage to the sword and civil slaughter, of which neither end nor limits could be found, his third consulship was conferred on Cneius Pompey singly, with the approbation even of those, who had formerly opposed his promotion. The honour of the office thus conferred leading him to believe, that the party of the nobles were reconciled to him, proved a principal cause of his alienation from Caius Cæsar. But he employed the whole power of that consulship in laying restraints on corruption. In that year, Publius Clodius was killed by Milo then candidate for the consulship, in a quarrel that arose, on their meeting near Bovillæ; an act of bad precedent, but profitable to the public. Not only the general abhorrence of the deed, but also the inclination of Pompey caused Milo to be condemned on his trial; though Marcus Cato publicly declared his opinion in favour of

BOOK  
II.

**BOOK** of his acquittal. Had he made this declaration sooner, several would have followed his example, and approved of the killing such a member of the community, than whom, there never lived one more pernicious to the state, or a greater enemy to all good men.

II.

**XLVIII.** In a short time after this, the flames of civil war began to blaze, while every man who regarded justice, wished that both Cæsar and Pompey would disband their armies. For Pompey, in his second consulate, had desired that the province of Spain might be assigned to him; and during three years, while he directed affairs in Rome, administered the government there in his absence by his deputies, Afranius of consular, and Petreius of prætorian rank; and while he assented to the judgment of those who insisted on Cæsar's disbanding his army, he opposed those who required the same from himself. Had this man died two years before recourse was had to arms, after he had finished the structures erected at his own expence, his theatre, and the buildings around it, and when he was attacked by a violent disorder in Campania, at which time all Italy offered prayers for his recovery, (a compliment

pliment never before paid to any citizen,) fortune would not have had opportunity to bring him to ruin, and he would have carried unfaded to the shades below, the grandeur that he enjoyed in this upper world. In the whole course of the civil war, and of all the calamities that thence ensued, through a space of twenty successive years, there was not a more active, or more destructive incendiary, than Caius Curio, a plebeian tribune. He was of noble birth, eloquent, intrepid, as prodigal of his own fortune and reputation as of those of others, a man most ingenious in wickedness, who employed his eloquence to the injury of the public, whose passions, pleasures, and lusts, no degree of wealth could satisfy. At first he joined the party of Pompey, that is, as it was then deemed, the party of the commonwealth; soon after, he pretended to oppose both Pompey and Cæsar, but, in reality, was inclined to favour the latter. Whether he acted thus from his own choice, or in consequence of a bribe of one million of sesterces, as has been said, we shall leave undetermined. At last, when salutary conditions, tending to unite all parties in peace, had been very justly demanded by Cæsar, and were admitted by Pompey, this man interrupted

BOOK  
II.

**BOOK** rupted and broke off the treaty, while Cicero  
 { **II.** } laboured, with singular zeal, to preserve concord in the state. As the course of these and the preceding transactions is correctly set forth in the volumes of others, so I trust it will be in mine.

**XLIX.** Let our work now return to its proposed plan ; but let me first congratulate Quintus Catulus, the two Luculli, Metellus, and Hortensius, on this account, that after having flourished in the state without envy, and enjoyed great eminence without danger, they died quiet, or at least not precipitated deaths, before the fatal beginning of the civil wars. In the consulate of Lentulus and Marcellus, seven hundred and three years after the building of the city, and seventy-eight before the commencement of your consulate, Marcus Vinicius, the civil war blazed forth. The cause of one of the leaders appeared to be the better, that of the other was the stronger. On one side every thing was specious, on the other every thing was more powerful. The support of the senate armed Pompey with confidence, that of the soldiery, Cæsar. The consuls and senate bestowed the supreme command

on the cause, not on the man. No expedient was left untried by Cæsar that tended to the preservation of peace; to none did the friends of Pompey agree. While one of the consuls was more violent than he ought, Lentulus saw that his own safety was incompatible with that of the state; but Marcus Cato insisted, that it were better to die than to suffer any citizen to dictate terms to the commonwealth. A man of antient probity and sound judgment would give greater praise to Pompey's party; a man of prudence would follow Cæsar's; deeming the former honourable, the latter more formidable. At length, when they had rejected every demand of Cæsar's and passed a decree that, content with retaining the mere title of a province and a single legion, he should come to Rome in a private character, and, as candidate for the consulship, submit himself to the votes of the Roman people, Cæsar, resolving on war, passed the Rubicon with his army. Cneius Pompey, the consuls, and the greater part of the senate, withdrawing from the city, and then from Italy, sailed over to Dyrrachium.

BOOK  
II.

L. But

## BOOK

## II

L. But Cæsar, having got into his power Domitius, and the legions with him at Corfinium, dismissed that general without delay, and every one else who chose to go to Pompey, and then followed to Brundisium; which clearly proved, that his wish was to put an end to war while the powers of the state were unimpaired, and negotiation open, rather than to overpower his opponents in their flight. Finding that the consuls had sailed, he returned to the city, and having represented in the senate, and in a general assembly, the motives of his proceedings, and the cruel necessity under which he lay, being compelled to take arms by the arming of others, he determined to go into Spain. The expedition was retarded some time by the conduct of Marseilles, which, with more loyalty than good policy, unseasonably assumed the arbitration between those great men in arms; a case in which such only ought to interpose as have power to enforce submission to their award. The army commanded by Afranius a consular, and Petreius a prætorian, filled with admiration of the vigour and splendour of his conduct, immediately on its arrival surrendered itself to Cæsar. Both the deputies, and all men of

every rank who wished to follow them, were **BOOK**  
permitted to go to Pompey. **II.**

LI. In the year following, Dyrrachium, and the whole country round it, were occupied by Pompey's camps; for, by collecting about him the legions from all the foreign provinces, auxiliary troops, both horse and foot, with the forces of the several kings, tetrarchs, and dynasties, he had formed an immense army; and had guarded the sea with such a line of ships, as he thought would prevent Cæsar's transporting his legions. Caius Cæsar, however, proceeding with his usual dispatch and success, let nothing hinder him and his army from making good their passage by sea, whither and when he pleased. At first he pitched his camp almost close to Pompey's, and soon shut him up within a circumvallation and forts: but scarcity distressed the besiegers more than the besieged. On this occasion, Cornelius Balbus, with a spirit of enterprize almost incredible, went into the enemy's camp, and held frequent conferences with Lentulus, while the consul was undetermined at what price he would sell himself; thus opening the way to those preferments, by which, (not a sojourner in Spain,

**BOOK II.** Spain, but a native Spaniard,) he rose to a triumph and pontificate, and, from a private station, became a consul. Several battles were fought with various success, but one proved very favourable to Pompey's army, and Cæsar's troops met a severe repulse.

LII. Cæsar then marched his army into Thessaly, the destined scene of his future victory. Pompey's friends advised very different measures, most of them recommending him to cross over to Italy, (and, in truth, no plan could have been adopted more advantageous to his party,) others, to protract the war, because his circumstances would daily become more and more favourable through the accession of persons of consequence, yet he was hurried on by his natural impetuosity, and followed the enemy. The plan of my present work does not permit me to describe at large the battle of Pharsalia, so fatal to the Roman nation, the vast torrents of blood spilled on both sides; the two heads of the republic dashed together in conflict; one eye of the Roman empire struck out, or the great number and quality of Pompey's friends who perished. One thing must be observed, that as soon as Cæsar saw Pompey's

pey's line give way, he made it his first and principal care, (if I may use a military phrase to which I have been accustomed,) to disband from his breast every consideration of party. O immortal gods! what requital did this merciful man afterwards receive for his kindness then shewn to Brutus? Nothing would have been more admirable, more grand, more illustrious, than this victory, for the nation did not miss one citizen, except those who fell in battle. But obstinacy defeated the exertions of compassion, as the conqueror granted life more freely than the vanquished received it.

BOOK  
II.

LIII. Pompey fled with two Lentuli, consulars, his son Sextus, and a prætorian named Favonius, whom chance had assembled in his company. Some advised him to retire into Parthia, others, into Africa, where he would have King Juba a most faithful adherent of his party; but considering the benefits which he had conferred on the father of Ptolemy, who now, though scarcely arrived at manhood, reigned at Alexandria, he determined to repair to Egypt. But who, when a benefactor is in adversity, remembers his kindnesses? Who thinks gratitude due to the unfortunate?

I

Or

**BOOK** Or when was it known that faith did not  
**II.** change with fortune? So in this case, the  
King, instigated by Theodotus and Achilles, sent people with orders that, on the arrival of Pompey, who was now accompanied in his flight by his wife Cornelia, having taken her on board at Mitylene, they should meet him, and recommend his removal from the transport ship into the vessel then sent. No sooner had he done this, than he, the first man in the Roman nation, was murdered by the order and direction of an Egyptian slave. This happened in the consulate of Caius Cæsar and Publius Servilius. After his three consulships, and as many triumphs, and after his subduing the world, on the day preceding his birth-day, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, thus ended the life of this most virtuous and most excellent man, who had been elevated to a pre-eminence of glory beyond which it is impossible to ascend. In his case, Fortune acted so inconsistently with herself, that he who lately could find no more land to conquer, now found none for a grave. May I not impute inattention to those who have made a mistake of five years in regard to the age of this great captain, who lived almost in our own times: since the series of years  
from

from the consulate of Caius Atinius and Quintus Servilius might be so easily adjusted. BOOK  
II  
I say not this for the sake of making charges, but to prevent charges against myself.

LIV. Yet the King and those who governed him showed not more fidelity to Cæsar, than they had shewn to Pompey; for, at his coming, they made a treacherous attempt on his life, and were afterwards so audacious, as to make open war on him. But they soon paid the penalty of their behaviour to both those great commanders, the living and the deceased, for they suffered deserved punishment. Pompey was now no more, but his fame still flourished in all parts of the world. A warm attachment to his cause excited a formidable war in Africa, which was conducted by King Juba and Scipio, the latter a man of consular rank, whom Pompey, two years before his death, had chosen to make his father-in-law: their strength being augmented by Marcus Cato, who brought some legions to them, though with the utmost difficulty, by reason of the badness of the roads, and the scarcity of provisions. The soldiers offered the supreme

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com-

**BOOK** command to Cato; but he chose rather to  
**II.** act under a person of superior dignity.

LV. The obligation of my promise of brevity reminds me with what a hasty pace I must run over every thing. Cæsar pursuing his good fortune, sailed to Africa, of which the army of Pompey's party had gained possession, after killing Curio, the leader of the Julian party. There he fought at first, with various success: but afterwards with such as usually attended him, and the enemy's forces were obliged to yield. He displayed there the same clemency toward the vanquished, that he had shewn on former occasions. Caius Cæsar had no sooner finished the war in Africa, than he found that another had arisen in Spain, which threatened to give him much more trouble; (as to his conquest of Pharnaces, it scarcely added any thing to his renown;) for Cneius Pompey, son of Pompey the Great, a young man capable of the most vigorous exertions in war, had formed there a powerful and formidable opposition; as multitudes, still revering the great fame of his father, flocked to his aid from every quarter of the globe. His usual fortune accompanied Cæsar into Spain; but never did he, any  
where

where else, encounter in battle more difficult, or more danger ; so that, his prospect of success seeming worse than doubtful, he dismounted from his horse, placed himself before the line of his troops, who were retreating, and, after reproaching fortune, for having preserved him for such an end, declared to his soldiers, that he would not retire one step ; bidding them therefore consider, what commander they were going to abandon, and in what situation. Shame, rather than courage, made them return to the fight ; which was more bravely maintained by the general than by the soldiery. Cneius Pompey was found grievously wounded in a solitary desert, and was slain. Labienus and Varus fell in the engagement.

BOOK  
II.

LVI. Cæsar, victorious over all opposition, came home to Rome ; and, what is next to incredible, granted pardon to all who had borne arms against him, and filled the city with most magnificent exhibitions of gladiators, sea-fights, contests of horsemen and footmen, and also of elephants ; and with the celebration of a feast which he gave to the people, that lasted many days. He performed five triumphs : the figures displayed

**BOOK** in that over Gaul were made of citron wood;  
**II.** in that over Pontus, of acanthus wood; in  
that over Alexandria, of tortoise-shell; in  
that over Africa, of ivory; and in that over  
Spain, of polished silver. The money arising  
from the spoils was somewhat more than sixty  
millions of sesterces. But this great man,  
who had used all his victories with so much  
mercy, was not allowed to rest in the posses-  
sion of supreme power longer than five  
months; for he returned to Rome in the  
month of October, and was killed on the  
ides of March, in consequence of a conspi-  
racy formed by Brutus and Cassius: the  
former of whom he had refused to oblige with  
a promise of the consulship, and the latter he  
had disgusted, by putting him off to another  
time. They had even drawn into their  
bloody design Decimus Brutus, and Caius  
Trebonius, the most intimate of all his ac-  
quaintances, men who had been raised to  
the highest dignity by the success of his  
party, and several others of great note. A  
strong jealousy had been excited against him  
by the conduct of his colleague in the con-  
sulship, Marc Anthony, who was always  
ready for every daring act; for, during the  
festival of Pan, as Cæsar sat in the rostrum,  
Anthony

Anthony offered to put the badge of royalty on his head: Cæsar pushed it away, but in such a manner, as did not indicate any displeasure. BOOK  
II.

LVII. The issue proved that the advice of Hirtius and Pansa was commendable; for they had always warned Cæsar, to retain the sovereign power by arms, as by arms he had acquired it: but he constantly declared, that he would rather die than live an object of terror. Thus, while he expected to meet the same clemency that he had shewn to others, he was cut off by ungrateful men. The immortal gods, indeed, had given very many presages, and signs, of the approaching danger; for the aruspices had forewarned him carefully to beware of the ides of March. His wife Calpurnia, terrified by a vision in the night, besought him to stay at home that day; and a note was given to him containing an account of the conspiracy, which he did not read. But the operations of fate are surely unavoidable: when it has resolved to reverse a man's fortune, it first confounds his counsels.

## BOOK

## II

## LVIII. Brutus and Cassius at the time

they perpetrated this deed were prætors of the year, and Decimus Brutus consul elect. These, with the body of the conspirators, attended by a band of gladiators belonging to Decimus Brutus, seized on the capitol. On this Marc Anthony the consul convened the senate. Cassius had proposed, that Anthony should be killed along with Cæsar, and that Cæsar's will should be annulled; but this was overruled by Brutus, who insisted that the citizens ought to seek no more than the blood of the tyrant: for so he called Cæsar, to palliate his own conduct. In the mean time, Dolabella, whom Cæsar had destined his successor in the consulship, laid hold on the fasces, and badges of that office. And now Anthony, as wishing to preserve peace, sent his own sons into the capitol as hostages, and pledged his faith to the murderers of Cæsar, that they might come down with safety. On this the senate followed the example of that celebrated decree of the Athenians mentioned by Cicero, enacting a general oblivion of all things past.

LIX. Then Cæsar's will was opened, in which he adopted Cneius Octavius, grandson of  
of

of his sister Julia, of whose origin, though **BOOK**  
he himself has spoken before me, yet I must **II.**  
say a few words. Cneius Octavius was born  
of a family, which, though not patrician, was  
highly distinguished in the equestrian rank.  
He possessed a sound understanding and a  
virtuous disposition; his conduct was full of  
probity, and his wealth was great. Among  
candidates of the highest distinction, he was  
elected prætor in the first place; and this ho-  
nourable promotion gained him Atia, daughter  
of Julia, in marriage. On the expiration of  
his prætorship, the lots gave him the province  
of Macedonia, where he was honoured with  
the title of Imperator; and on his way home  
to sue for the consulship he died, leaving a  
son, who was under the age of manhood.  
This youth, who was brought up in the house  
of his stepfather Philip, Caius Cæsar loved as  
if he were his own son. At the age of eigh-  
teen, during the war in Spain, he joined his  
uncle there, who thenceforth made him his  
constant companion; not suffering him to  
use any other lodging, or to travel in any  
other carriage than his own; and, while he  
was yet a boy, honoured him with the office of  
pontiff. On the restoration of peace after  
the civil wars, in order to improve the young  
man's

**BOOK** man's excellent capacity by a liberal educa-  
**II.** tion, he sent him to Apollonia to study; and  
intended to give him a post in the army, which he designed to lead soon against the Getans, and afterwards against the Parthians. At the time when he was informed of the murder of his uncle, he received an offer from the centurions of the legions in that neighbourhood of their support, and that of the troops; which Salvidienus and Agrippa advised him not to reject. As he was hastening to Rome, he found at Brundisium full accounts of the fall of Cæsar, and of his will. On his approach to the city, he was met by immense crowds of his friends; and when he was entering the gate, the orb of the sun over his head was seen regularly curved into a circular form, and coloured like a rainbow, as if setting a crown on the head of a man who was soon to become so great.

LX. His mother Atia and his step-father Philip were of opinion, that he should not assume the name of Cæsar, as it might excite the jealousy of the public; but the propitious fates of the state, and of the world, claimed the founder and preserver of the  
Roman

Roman nation. His celestial mind accordingly spurned human counsels, determined to pursue the loftiest designs with danger rather than humble ones with safety; and chose to follow the direction of an uncle, and that uncle Cæsar, in preference to that of a step-father; for it would be impious, he said, after Cæsar had judged him worthy of that name, to appear in his own eyes unworthy. His first reception by the consul Anthony was full of haughtiness; which, however, was not the effect of contempt, but of fear; and it was with difficulty that he gained admittance into Pompey's gardens, and an opportunity of conversing with him. Anthony soon after began to spread wicked insinuations that Octavius was plotting against him; the falsehood of which was detected to his utter disgrace. The madness of the consuls Anthony and Dolabella soon carried its violence to open acts of abominable tyranny. The sum of seventy millions of sesterces, deposited by Caius Cæsar in the temple of Ops, was seized by Anthony, under colour of counterfeit and evidently forged clauses, that he had inserted in Cæsar's registry of his intentions. Every kind of business had a price fixed on it; for the consul set the common-wealth

BOOK  
II

**BOOK** wealth to sale. He even resolved to seize on  
**II.** the province of Gaul, which had been decreed  
to Decimus Brutus consul elect; while Dolabella allotted the provinces beyond sea to himself. Between parties so discordant in their natures, and so opposite in their views, mutual hatred continually increased; and daily attempts were made on young Cneius Cæsar, through the machinations of Anthony.

LXI. The state crushed under the tyranny of Anthony lost all vigour: every man felt indignation and grief, but none had power to make resistance; when Cneius Cæsar, in the beginning of his nineteenth year, by his wonderful exertions, and accomplishment of the most important purposes, displayed a greater spirit than the senate in support of the republic. He called out his father's veterans first from Calatia, and then from Casilinum; and their example was followed by others, who came together in such numbers as quickly formed a regular army; and when Anthony met the troops, which he had ordered to come from the foreign provinces to Brundisium, the Martian and the fourth legions having learned the will of the senate,  
and

and the abilities of Cæsar took up their standards, and marched to join him. After honouring him with an equestrian statue, which at this day stands on the rostrum, and testifies his age by its inscription, a compliment which, during three hundred years, was paid to none but Lucius Sulla, Cneius Pompey, and Cneius Cæsar, the senate ordered him, in quality of proprætor, together with the consuls elect, Hirtius and Pansa, to make war on Anthony. This charge, he in his twentieth year executed with the greatest bravery in the neighbourhood of Mutina. Decimus Brutus was relieved from a siege; and Anthony was forced to quit Italy in a shameful and solitary flight: but one of the consuls fell in the field, and the other died of a wound a few days after.

LXII. Before Anthony was obliged to fly, the senate, influenced principally by the arguments of Cicero, decreed every thing most honourable to Cæsar and his army; but, as soon as their fears were removed, their real disposition discovered itself, and their favour to Pompey's party returned. They decreed to Brutus and Cassius those provinces which they had already seized, without any authority

**BOOK** rity from the senate, commended those who  
**II** furnished them with troops, and committed  
to their direction all the foreign settlements.  
For Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius, at one time fearing the arms of Anthony, at another counterfeiting fear in order to increase the ill will of the public towards him, had published declarations, that they would willingly live even all their lives in exile, if that would procure harmony in the republic; that they would never afford occasion for a civil war, but were fully satisfied with the honour which they enjoyed in the consciousness of what they had done; after which, with determined and similar intentions, leaving Rome and Italy, they had, without any public commission, possessed themselves of the provinces and armies; and pretending that wherever they were, there was the commonwealth, had received from people willing enough to gratify them, the sums of money which used to be transmitted to Rome from the foreign provinces by the quæstors. All these particulars were recited and approved in decrees of the senate. They even voted a triumph to Decimus Brutus, though he owed his life to the aid of another. The bodies of Hirtius and Pansa were honoured

with a funeral at the public expence. So far **BOOK II.** were they from taking any notice of Cæsar, that the lieutenant-generals sent to his army were directed to remove him out of the way, when they gave orders to the troops. But the army was not as ungrateful as the senate; for, though Cæsar bore the affront in silence, the soldiers refused to listen to any directions in the absence of their general. It was at this time that Cicero, out of his rooted love of Pompey's party, gave his opinion, that Cæsar was "laudandus et tollendus;" saying one thing while he wished that another should be understood.

LXIII. Meanwhile Anthony, having fled across the Alps, met a rejection of his proposals in a conference with Lepidus, who had been clandestinely made chief pontiff, in the room of Caius Cæsar, and though appointed to the government of Spain, still delayed in Gaul. Afterwards Anthony came frequently into the view of the soldiers; and they, considering every commander preferable to Lepidus, and Anthony, when sober, to many others, broke down the rampart on the rear of the camp, and gave him admission: but while he held the entire direction of affairs, he

**BOOK** he still yielded to Lentulus the title of commander. Before he entered the camp, Ju-  
**II.** ventius Laterensis, who maintained consistency in his life and death, having earnestly dissuaded Lepidus from joining Anthony, who had been proclaimed a rebel, and finding his counsel disregarded, ran himself through with his sword. Plancus, according to his usual duplicity, after long debating in his mind which party he should follow, and with much difficulty forming a resolution, supported for some time Decimus Brutus, consul elect, his own colleague, boasting of his merit therein in letters to the senate, and soon after betrayed him. However, Asinius Pollio was steadfast in his purpose, faithful to the Julian party, and adverse to that of Pompey. Both of these made over their troops to Anthony.

LXIV. Decimus Brutus was first deserted by Plancus, and then endangered by his plots. Seeing his troops gradually forsaking him, he betook himself to flight, but was slain by some of Anthony's emissaries, in the house of a friend, a nobleman named Camelus, meeting thus the punishment justly due to his behaviour to Caius Cæsar, to whom

whom he was under the greatest obligations. **BOOK II.**  
 For, though he had been the most intimate of all his friends, he became his murderer, and threw on his benefactor the jealousy attendant on that fortune of which he had reaped the benefit. He thought it just that he should retain the favours betowed by Cæsar, and that Cæsar, the donor of them, should perish. It was during these times that Marcus Tullius, in continual harangues, branded the memory of Anthony with eternal infamy. He, indeed, did this in splendid language, but Canutius, a tribune, constantly railed at Anthony with virulent abuse. Their defence of liberty cost both of them their lives; for as the proscription commenced with the blood of the tribune, so it ended with the death of Cicero, when even Anthony was satiated. Lepidus was then declared an enemy by the senate, as Anthony had been before.

LXV. Then began a correspondence by letter between Lepidus, Cæsar, and Anthony. Hints were thrown out of an accommodation, while Anthony frequently reminded Cæsar how hostile to him Pompey's party was, and to what a height it had already arisen, how zealous

**BOOK** Iously Cicero laboured to exalt Brutus and  
**II.** Cassius, giving warning that if he, Cæsar, scorned to associate with him, he would join his power to that of Brutus and Cassius, who were already at the head of seventeen legions; at the same time remarking, that Cæsar was under stronger obligations to revenge a father than he to revenge a friend. On this a league of partnership in power was concluded; and in compliance with the advice and entreaties of the armies, an affinity was contracted between Anthony and Cæsar, the step-daughter of the former being betrothed to the latter. Cæsar entered on the consulship with Quintus Pidius, on the day before he completed his twentieth year, on the tenth of the calends of October, seven hundred and nine years after the building of the city, and seventy-two before the beginning of yours, Marcus Vinicius. This year saw Ventidius assume the consular robe, immediately after wearing the prætorian, in that city through which he had been led in triumph among other Picenian prisoners. He likewise triumphed afterwards.

**LXVI.** Anthony and Lepidus having been voted enemies, as above mentioned, were enraged

raged to a degree of fury ; and while both BOOK  
 were better pleased at hearing what they had II.  
 suffered, than what they had deserved, they,  
 in spite of Cæsar's opposition, which was  
 vain against the two, revived the horrid prac-  
 tice of proscription, on the model introduced  
 by Sulla. Nothing reflects more disgrace on  
 that period, than, either Cæsar being forced  
 to proscribe any person, or Cicero being  
 proscribed by him, and the advocate of the  
 public being cut off by the villainy of An-  
 thony ; while none took any pains for the  
 safety of that man, who had spent so many  
 years in guarding the state, and seeking the  
 safety of its citizens. But you have gained  
 nothing, Marc Anthony, (for the indignation  
 bursting from my mind and heart, compels  
 me to exceed the bounds of this work,) you  
 have gained nothing, I say, by paying the  
 hire for closing those almost heavenly  
 lips, for instigating ruffians, in fine, to murder  
 a man, once so great as a consul, and the  
 preserver of the commonwealth. You ra-  
 vished from Marcus Cicero a life of trouble  
 and feeble old age ; a being less desirable un-  
 der your direction of affairs, than death. But,  
 of his fame, and the glory of his actions and  
 writings, you have not despoiled him : on the


**BOOK** contrary, you have enhanced them. He  
**II.** lives, and will live in the memory of all succeeding ages. And as long as this body of the universe, whether framed by chance, or by wisdom, or by whatever means, which he, almost alone of the Romans saw in his mind, comprehended in his understanding, and illustrated by his eloquence, shall continue to exist, it will carry the praise of Cicero its companion in duration. All posterity will admire his writings against you, and execrate your proceedings against him ; and sooner shall the race of man fail in the world, than his fame decay.

LXVII. The events of this whole period can never be sufficiently deplored ; much less can they be recounted. One thing demands observation, that the proscribed experienced the utmost fidelity in their wives, a moderate share of it in their freedmen, a little in their slaves, but none in their sons. Yet men endure delay of hope, on whatever grounds it is conceived. That nothing, however, should be left inviolate, or without incitement to acts of wickedness, Anthony proscribed his uncle Lucius Cæsar, and Lepidus his brother Paullus. Plancus too had  
 interest

interest enough to procure the like sentence BOOK  
II.  
in regard to his brother Plotius Plancus. Therefore among the jests of the soldiers, who followed the chariots of Lepidus and Plancus, amidst the curses of their countrymen, they threw out this expression, “The consuls triumph over Germans, (brothers,) not over Gauls.”

LXVIII. Let us here relate a transaction which was passed over in its proper place; for the general character of the man does not allow a shade to be cast over his conduct. While Cæsar was deciding by arms the fate of the empire at Pharsalia, Marcus Cælius, a man nearly resembling Curio in spirit and eloquence, but his superior in both, and not less ingeniously wicked, proposed in his prætorship, as a moderate relief could not save him, for his property was in a ruinous state, an abolition of debts; nor could the authority of the consuls and senate deter him from his purpose. He even called home Annius Milo, who was incensed against the Julian party, because he had not obtained a repeal of his banishment, and endeavoured to raise a sedition in the city, and secretly stir up war in the country; but by the directions of the  
K 3 senate,

**BOOK** senate, he was first banished, and soon after

**II.**  crushed by the arms of the consuls near Thurii. Ill fortune attended Milo in a like attempt; for while he was besieging Compsa in Hirpinia, he was killed by a stroke of a stone, thus expiating the guilt of his conduct toward Publius Clodius, and toward his country, against which he was waging war, so that this man may rather be called rash than brave. Since I revert to some things omitted, let me observe, that Marullus Epidius and Flavius Cæsetius, plebeian tribunes, having used intemperate and unseasonable liberties in prejudice of Cneius Cæsar, while they charged him with aspiring to royalty, were very near feeling the force of absolute power. Yet, though the prince was often provoked, his anger ended in this, that, satisfied with a censorial sentence of disgrace, instead of the punishment which a dictator might inflict, he banished them from the state, and declared, that he was very unhappy, in finding himself obliged either to depart from his nature, or lower his dignity. But I must return to my course.

**LXIX.** In Asia, Dolabella had by a piece of fraud circumvented Caius Trebonius, a consular,

consular, put himself into his place, and slain him at Smyrna: a man most ungrateful for the kindnesses of Cæsar, and an accomplice in the murder of him by whom he had been raised to the dignity of consul. In Syria, Caius Cassius, having received some legions from Statius Marcus and Crispus Marcius, men of prætorian rank, and at the head of a very powerful force, shut up Dolabella in Laodicea; for he, finding Asia pre-occupied, had proceeded into Syria. Having taken the town, he put him to death, while Dolabella, with spirit enough, held out his neck to the stroke of his slave. Cassius by these means acquired the command of ten legions in that quarter. In Macedonia, Marcus Brutus drew over to his side the legions of Caius Anthony, brother of Marc Anthony, and those of Vatinius, near Dyrracchium, who chose to join him. Anthony he attached with arms. Vatinius was overwhelmed by the dignity of his character; for as Brutus was reckoned preferable to any leader of the times, so Vatinius was considered as inferior to them all. In this deformity of person vied with depravity of disposition, so that his soul seemed lodged in an habitation perfectly adapted to it. He

**B O O K** was seven legions strong. By the Pedian law,  
 { **II.** introduced by the consul Peditus, Cæsar's  
 colleague, all persons concerned in the  
 murder of Cæsar his father, were ordered  
 into banishment. Capito, my uncle, a man  
 of senatorian rank, joined Agrippa in the  
 prosecution of Caius Cassius. While those  
 transactions passed in Italy, Cassius by brisk  
 and very successful operations, got possession  
 of Rhodes, a business of very great difficulty.  
 Brutus subdued the Lycians, and then both  
 marched their armies into Macedonia, while  
 Cassius, on every occasion, in repugnance to  
 his nature, exceeded even Brutus in cle-  
 mency. You cannot find two men, whom  
 fortune more propitiously attended, or, as if  
 tired, earlier deserted, than Brutus and  
 Cassius.

LXX. Then Cæsar and Anthony trans-  
 ported their armies to Macedonia, and near  
 the city of Philippi came to a general en-  
 gagement with Marcus Brutus and Cassius.  
 The wing commanded by Brutus drove  
 the enemy from the field, and took Cæsar's  
 camp. For Cæsar himself, though in a very  
 infirm state of health, performed the duties  
 of a commander; notwithstanding his physi-  
 cian,

cian, Artorius, terrified certainly by a threatening dream, entreated him not to remain in camp. But the wing which Cassius commanded, was routed with great slaughter, and retired to higher ground. Then Cassius, judging of his colleague's success by his own situation, sent a veteran, with orders to bring him an account, who were those coming towards him in a numerous body. This was not executed with sufficient expedition, for the band of men marching hastily up was now at hand; and by reason of the dust, neither their faces nor their colours could be distinguished: when Cassius, supposing them to be enemies rushing on him, covered his head with his robe, and intrepidly held out his extended neck to his freedman. The head of Cassius had fallen when the veteran returned with intelligence, that Brutus was victorious; and he, seeing the body of his commander lying prostrate, exclaimed, "as my tardiness caused his death, I will follow him;" and then fell on his sword. In a few days after, Brutus engaged the enemy again, was defeated, and, flying, withdrew to an hill, where he prevailed on Strato of Ægeum, an intimate friend, to lend him his hand in effecting his death. Then raising his left arm

**BOOK** **II.** arm over his head, and holding the point of his sword in his right hand, he fixed it on his left pap, the very spot where the heart beats, and thrusting himself against the sword, he was transfixed by the one push and expired. Immediately Messala, a young man of shining character, who, next to Brutus and Cassius, possessed the most powerful influence of any in the camp, though urged by many to assume the chief command, yet resolved to be indebted for safety to Cæsar's kindness, rather than to try any farther the chance of arms. Neither did any circumstance attending his victories afford greater joy to Cæsar, than the saving of this Corvinus, nor was there ever an instance of greater gratitude, or more affectionate attachment, than he showed in return. In no other war was more blood of illustrious men spilled. In this fell the son of Cato. The same fate carried off Lucullus and Hortensius, sons of the most eminent men in the state. Varro, when ready to die, foretold with great freedom, in mockery of Anthony, several circumstances respecting his death, which were worthy of him, and which did take place. Livius Drusus, father of Julia Augusta, and Quintilius Varus, did not even try the mercy of  
of

of the enemy: but the former slew himself in his tent; and Varus, after decking himself with all the ornaments of his honours, was slain by the hand of a freedman, whom he compelled to perform the deed. BOOK II.

LXXII. In this manner did the will of fortune put an end to the party of Marcus Brutus, when he was in his thirty-seventh year, after his mind had been depraved so far, as to become fit for the business of that day, which, by the audacious temerity of one act, cancelled all his virtues. Cassius was as much the better commander, as Brutus was the better man. Of the two, you would rather wish to have Brutus your friend: as an enemy, you would stand in more fear of Cassius. One possessed greater ability, the other, greater virtue. If these men had met success, as far as it was more advantageous to the commonwealth to have Cæsar its prince, rather than Anthony, so far would it have been better to have Brutus than Cassius. Cneius Domitius, father of Lucius Domitius, whom we lately saw, and who was a man of very eminent and distinguished virtue, and grandfather of the present very illustrious youth of the same name, seized several ships, and with a numerous attendance of men who chose

**BOOK** chose to be guided by him, committed himself  
**II.** to flight and fortune, looking for no other leader of the party than himself. Statius Murcus, who commanded a fleet, and had the charge of guarding the sea, deserted with a great part of the troops and ships entrusted to him, and joined Sextus Pompey, son of Cneius the Great; who, returning from Spain, had by force gained possession of Sicily. The proscribed, who had withdrawn from immediate danger, flocked to him from the camp of Brutus, from Italy, and from various parts of the world; for to those who had no settled course to follow, any leader appeared sufficient. Fortune did not give them an option, but pointed out a refuge, and when people are avoiding a deadly tempest, any anchoring-place serves as an harbour.

LXXIII. Sextus was quite uninformed, and in his language barbarous; yet in exertion vigorous, in action prompt, in judgment precipitate, in fidelity the very reverse of his father, the freedman of his own freedmen, and slave of his slaves; calumniating men of dignity, himself subservient to the meanest. After Anthony's flight from Mutina, at the same time when the transmarine provinces were decreed to Brutus and Cassius, the senate,

senate, which still consisted almost entirely of Pompey's partizans, recalled this Pompey from Spain, where Asinius Pollio the proprætor had waged war against him with much honour; restored to him his father's property, and gave him the command of the sea-coast. Having possessed himself of Sicily, as above mentioned, he by receiving slaves and vagabonds into his army filled up the compliment of many legions; and by means of Menas and Menecrates, two of his father's freedmen who commanded his fleet, infested the sea with piracies and rapine; and made use of the plunder to support himself and his followers, without being ashamed to disturb with the villanies of pirates those seas which had been cleared of them by the wisdom and valour of his father.

LXXIV. The party of Brutus and Cassius being crushed, Anthony staid behind, for the purpose of settling the foreign provinces, and Cæsar returned to Italy, which he found in a much more turbulent state than he had expected. For the consul Lucius Anthony, a sharer of all his brother's vices, but destitute of the virtues which sometimes appeared in Marcus, had collected a large army, by frequently inveighing against Cæsar in the hearing

**BOOK** hearing of the veterans, and at other times  
**II.** inciting those to arms, who had not been included in the distribution of farms and the nomination of colonists. On the other side, Fulvia the wife of Anthony, in whom there was nothing feminine but the form, threw every thing into confusion and tumult. She chose Præneste as the seat of war. Anthony, forced to give way in every quarter to Cæsar's superior strength, retired to Perusia; while Plancus, a favourer of his party, rather held out hope of assistance than really gave him any. Cæsar, pursuing his good fortune, and the dictates of his courage, took Perusia, and dismissed Anthony unhurt. The Perusians suffered severely, rather through the rage of the soldiers than the will of their commander. The city was burnt; but this was occasioned by one of the principal inhabitants, called Macedonicus, who, after setting fire to his house and effects, stabbed himself, and fell amid the flames.

LXXV. At the same time, violent disturbances broke out in Campania, fomented under pretence of patronizing those who had lost their lands, by Tiberius Claudius Nero, who had been prætor, and was then pontiff, the father of Tiberius Cæsar, a man of great spirit,

spirit, learning, and capacity; but this insurrection was quelled by the arrival of Cæsar. BOOK  
II.

How very wonderful are the changes of fortune, and the uncertain vicissitudes of human affairs! Ought not every man either to hope, or fear, a change of present circumstances, or events, contrary to his expectations? Livia, the daughter of Drusus Claudianus, a man of the highest distinction and courage,—in birth, virtue, and beauty, the most eminent of Roman ladies, whom we afterwards saw the wife of Augustus, and after his translation to the gods, his priestess, and daughter; now flying from the troops of Cæsar, who was soon to be her consort; carrying in her bosom a child scarcely two years old, the present Tiberius Cæsar, the champion of the Roman empire; passing through unfrequented roads, to avoid the swords of the military; accompanied by a single attendant, that her flight might the more easily be concealed;—made her way to the sea, and, with her husband Nero, sailed over to Sicily.

LXXVI. I will not defraud my own grandfather of a testimony which I would pay to a stranger. Caius Velleius, then, had been chosen by Cneius Pompey, in the most honourable

**BOOK** II. nourable place; among the three hundred and sixty judges; had been præfect of artificers under him, Marcus Brutus, and Tiberius Nero, and was a man inferior to none. He had supported the party of Nero, for he was his most intimate friend; and being in Campania, when Nero left Naples, since he could not accompany him, being unwieldy through age and corpulency, he slew himself with his sword. Cæsar suffered Fulvia to depart from Italy in safety, and Plancus to accompany her in her flight. Asinius Pollio, with seven legions, had long retained Venetia under subjection to Anthony; and performed many and brilliant exploits at Altinum, and in other parts of that country. As he was marching now toward Anthony, he found Domitius, who, as we mentioned before, on the death of Brutus quitted his camp, still acting separately, and at the head of a fleet of his own. He so far enticed him by his representations and solemn assurances, as to prevail on him to join Anthony: by which proceeding, as any equitable judge must allow, Pollio conferred as great advantages on Anthony as Anthony did on him. Anthony's coming into Italy soon after, and Cæsar's preparations to oppose him, excited  
appre-

apprehensions of war; but a peaceable accommodation was effected near Brundisium. BOOK  
II.  
About this time, the wicked schemes of Salvidienus Rufus were detected. This man, born of the most obscure parentage, was not satisfied with having received the highest honours, with being the next after Cneius Pompey and Cæsar, and having been raised from equestrian rank to the consulship. He would mount to such an height, as to see both Cæsar and the commonwealth beneath him.

LXXVII. Then, in consequence of the general expostulations of the people who were sorely distressed by a scarcity of provisions occasioned by the depredations committed at sea, a peace was likewise concluded with Pompey at Misenum. Entertaining Cæsar and Anthony on board his ship, he observed with some humour, that he was giving a supper in his own *carinæ*, alluding to the name of the street in which stood his father's house, then occupied by Anthony. In this treaty of peace was a clause that Sicily and Achaia should be ceded to Pompey, but his restless mind could not be long content: the only advantage that his coming produced to his country was, that he stipulated for the

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**BOOK** reception and safety of all the proscribed,  
 II. and others who, for various reasons, had  
 taken refuge with him. This article restored  
 to the republic, among other illustrious men,  
 Claudius Nero, Marcus Silanus, Sentius Sa-  
 turninus, Aruntius, and Titius. Statius Mur-  
 cus, who, by joining Pompey with his famous  
 fleet, had doubled his strength, was loaded  
 by him with false accusations, and put to  
 death in Sicily; because Menas and Mene-  
 crates scorned to have such a man their col-  
 league in commission.

LXXVIII. At this period of time, Marc  
 Anthony married Octavia, Cæsar's sister.  
 Pompey returned to Sicily, Anthony to the  
 transmarine provinces, which Labienus had  
 disturbed with violent commotions. For he  
 had gone from the camp of Brutus to the  
 Parthians, brought an army of them into  
 Syria, and slain Anthony's deputy: but,  
 through the courage and good conduct of  
 Ventidius, he was cut off, together with the  
 Parthian troops, and their king's son Paco-  
 rus, a young Prince universally celebrated.  
 Meanwhile, lest, in such quiet times, idle-  
 ness, the greatest foe to discipline, might de-  
 bauch

bauch the soldiery, Cæsar made frequent incursions into Illyricum and Dalmatia: and by inuring the men to hardships, and training them in action, confirmed their strength. At this time Domitius Calvinus, being, on the expiration of his consulship, made governor of Spain, gave an instance of strict discipline, comparable to the practice of the antients: for he put to death by the bastinado a centurion of the first rank, named Vibillius, for having shamefully fled from battle.

BOOK  
II.

LXXIX. Pompey's reputation and his fleet increased daily, wherefore Cæsar resolved to take on himself the task of conducting the war against him. The charge of building ships, collecting soldiers and seamen, and training them in naval contests and evolutions, was committed to Marcus Agrippa, a man of distinguished courage, whom no toil, watching, or danger, could overcome, who knew perfectly well how to obey, that is, to obey one, others, he certainly wished to command: in every case averse from delay, he made action instantly follow resolve. He built a very fine fleet in the Avernian, and Lucrine lakes, and by daily practice brought

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both

**BOOK** both soldiers and seamen to a thorough  
**II.** knowledge of military and naval business.  
With this fleet, Cæsar commenced hostilities against Pompey, and Sicily, having first with omens, propitious to the state, espoused Livia, who was given to him in marriage by Nero her former husband. But invincible as he was by human power, he now received a severe shock from fortune; for a storm arising from the south-west shattered and dispersed the greater part of his fleet, near Velia and the promontory of Palinurus. This event retarded the prosecution of the war, which was afterwards attended with uncertain success on Cæsar's part, and sometimes with danger. For his fleet suffered severely in a second storm at the same place, and although in the first naval engagement at Mylæ, in which Agrippa commanded, the issue was favourable, yet in consequence of the unexpected arrival of the enemy's fleet, a heavy loss was sustained at Tauromenium under Cæsar's eye, nor was his person free from danger. The legions, which had been landed with Cornificius a lieutenant-general of his, were nearly surprised by Pompey. But the fortune of this hazardous juncture was amended by steady courage.

courage. In a general engagement at sea, Pompey lost nearly all his ships, and was forced to fly to Asia. There, by order of Marc Anthony, to whom he applied for succour, while he acted a confused part between the general and the suppliant, at one time supporting his dignity, at another begging his life, he was slain by Titius. The general detestation which this man incurred by such a deed continued so strong, that when he was afterwards celebrating games in Pompey's theatre, he was driven out by the execrations of the people from an exhibition bestowed by himself.

LXXX. While Cæsar was employed in the war against Pompey, he had called Lepidus from Africa, with twelve legions, which were half complete. This man, the vainest that ever existed, who merited not by any good quality such a long indulgence of fortune, had been joined by the troops of Pompey, because he lay the nearest to them, but they acted under the authority and good faith of Cæsar, not under his. Inflated with vanity by the number of the legions exceeding twenty, he proceeded to such a degree of madness, that, though he had been merely

**BOOK** an useless attendant on another's victory,

**II.** which he had long retarded, by dissenting from Cæsar's plans, and constantly urging measures different from those recommended by others, yet he claimed the whole credit of the victory as his own, and even had the assurance to send notice to Cæsar, that he should leave Sicily. Neither the Scipios, nor any of the ancient Roman commanders, ever attempted or executed a more resolute act than was then performed by Cæsar. For, though he was unarmed, and in his cloak, carrying with him nothing but his name, he went into the camp of Lepidus, and avoiding the weapons which were thrown at him by the order of that abandoned man, one of which pierced through his cloak, he boldly seized the eagle of a legion. Then you might discern the difference between the commanders. The armed troops followed the unarmed leader, and in the tenth year after Lepidus had arrived at a height of power nowise correspondent to his conduct, being deserted by fortune, and by his troops, he wrapped himself up in a black cloak, and passing unobserved among the hindmost of the crowd that flocked about Cæsar, prostrated himself at his feet. He was permitted

mitted to retain life, and the disposal of his **BOOK**  
 own property, but was stripped of the dig- **II.**  
 nity which he was not qualified to support.

LXXXI. A sudden mutiny then broke out in the army: for when troops consider their own great numbers, they are apt to revolt from discipline, and to scorn to ask what they think themselves able to enforce; but it was soon composed, partly by some able exertions, and partly by the liberality of the prince. A grand addition was made at this time to the colony of Capua. The rents of the lands were the property of the Campanians, and in exchange for these much larger were assigned to them in the island of Crete, amounting to 1,200,000 sesterces: a promise was also given to them of the aquæduct, which, at this day, is an exceeding fine ornament, conducive both to health, and to pleasure. Agrippa, for his singular services in this war, was rewarded with the distinction of a naval crown, an honour never before conferred on any Roman. Cæsar then returned victorious to Rome, and a great number of houses having been purchased by his agents, for the purpose of enlarging his own, he declared that he intended them for public

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uses,

**BOOK** uses, and announced his purpose of building  
**II.** a temple to Apollo, surrounded with porticoes,  
and which he afterwards erected with extraordinary magnificence.

LXXXII. During this summer, wherein Cæsar's operations against Lepidus in Sicily were crowned with success, Fortune directed her operations in the east to his prejudice, and in some measure to that of the republic in general. For Anthony at the head of thirteen legions entered Armenia and Media, marching through those countries against the Parthians, whose king met him in the field. At first he lost two legions, with all their baggage and engines, with Statianus a lieutenant-general. He afterwards, and with the hazard of the whole army, brought himself into the most perilous situations; after losing no less than a fourth part of his soldiers, he was saved by the advice and fidelity of a person, who was a captive, but a Roman. This man had been made a prisoner when the army of Crassus was cut off, but this change in his condition produced none in his mind: he came by night to a Roman outpost, and gave them warning not to proceed by the road intended, but  
to

to make their escape through a woody **BOOK**  
country. This proved the preservation of **II.**  
Marc Anthony and those legions, out of  
which, however, and the whole army, he lost,  
as we have said, one fourth part of the sol-  
diers, one third of the servants and slaves,  
and of the baggage hardly any thing was  
saved. Yet Anthony called this flight of his;  
which barely saved his life, a victory. In the  
third year after, he made another expedition  
into Armenia, and having by insidious artifi-  
ces imposed on its king Artavasdes, he threw  
him into chains, which, out of compliment,  
were made of gold. While the flame of his pas-  
sion for Cleopatra blazed with daily increas-  
ing violence, and new multitudes continually  
resorted to him, of such men as acquire sup-  
port by licentious compliances and flatteries,  
he determined to turn his arms against his  
country. He had before this issued orders,  
that he should be styled the new Father Bac-  
chus, and had rode in a chariot through  
Alexandria as Father Bacchus, wearing a gar-  
land of ivy, and a crown of gold, with buskins  
on his legs, and a thyrsus in his hand.

LXXXIII. While he was making prepara-  
tions for war, Plancus, being sharply rebuked  
by

**BOOK** by him on a discovery of some palpable robberies, deserted to Cæsar; which step proceeded not from a belief that he was choosing the right side, or from love of Cæsar or of the commonwealth, for to both he was ever a foe, but from his being infected with treason as a disorder. Before this, he had been the meanest flatterer of the Queen, more obsequious than any slave, the letter-carrier of Anthony, the prompter and actor of the vilest obscenities, venal to all men and for all purposes, and had at a feast represented Glaucus in a dance, being naked, and painted green, carrying on his head a circle of reeds, dragging a tail after him, and crawling on his knees. He afterwards construed the clemency of the conqueror into merit of his own, alleging that Cæsar shewed his approbation of his conduct by forgiving it. Titius soon followed the example of this uncle of his. This recent deserter, one day in the senate, charged the absent Anthony with many foul enormities, on which Coponius, a man of prætorian rank, and very respectable character, father-in-law of Publius Silius, observed with some humour, "Surely Anthony  
" did a great many things the day before you  
" left him."

LXXXIV. Then,

LXXXIV. Then, in the consulate of Cæsar and Corvinus Messala, the decisive contest was waged at Actium, where, long before the engagement, it was easy to foresee, that victory would attend the Julian party. On this side, both the soldiers and the commander were full of vigour; on that, every thing was feeble: on this, the seamen were in full strength; on the other, they were greatly reduced by want: on this, the ships were moderate in size and active; on the opposite, they were more formidable only in appearance. From this side not a man deserted to Anthony; from the other, deserters came daily to Cæsar. In the presence and in the view of Anthony's fleet, Leucas was stormed by Marcus Agrippa, Patræ was taken, Corinth seized, and twice before the final decision the enemy's fleet was worsted. King Amyntas joining the better and more profitable side, (as to Dellius, he only followed in this war his usual practice,) and Cneius Domitius, a man highly esteemed, and the only one of Anthony's party who never addressed the Queen but by her name, came over to Cæsar through great and imminent dangers.

BOOK  
II.

LXXXV. At

## BOOK

## II.

LXXXV. At length arrived the day of the grand dispute, when Cæsar and Anthony, with their fleets in line of battle, came to a general engagement; one fighting for the preservation, the other for the destruction of the world. The right squadron of the Julian fleet was intrusted to Marcus Lurius, the left to Aruntius; Agrippa had the command in chief of the whole. Of Cæsar, it might be said that he was present every where. The command of Anthony's fleet was given to Publicola and Sosius. Cæsar's army on the land was commanded by Taurus, Anthony's by Canidius. When the engagement began, every thing on one side was complete, the commander, the seamen, the soldiers; on the other, nothing but the soldiers. Cleopatra first began the flight, and Anthony chose to accompany her, rather than remain with his men in battle. Thus a general, whose duty it had been to punish deserters, became a deserter of his own army. His men, though deprived of their chief, maintained the fight a long time with most determined resolution; and many, even when they despaired of victory, continued it to death. Cæsar, although he could have conquered them with the sword, wished rather

rather to subdue them by words; and **BOOK**  
calling aloud, and pointing, shewed them **II.**  
that Anthony had fled; asking them for whom,  
and against whom, they fought. At last,  
after a long struggle in favour of their  
absent leader, they were with difficulty pre-  
vailed on to lay down their arms, and yield  
the victory; and Cæsar granted them life  
and pardon more readily than they were  
persuaded to ask them of him. It was  
universally allowed, that the soldiers acted  
the part of an excellent commander, and the  
commander that of a most dastardly soldier.  
So that you can easily judge, whether, in  
case of success, he would have regulated his  
conduct by his own judgment, or by Cleo-  
patra's, since by hers he was determined to  
fly. The army on land submitted in like  
manner, after Canidius had precipitately fled  
to Anthony.

LXXXVI. What blessings that day pro-  
cured to the world, what an improvement it  
produced in the state of the public welfare, no  
man can attempt to recount in such a hasty  
narrative as this abridgment. The victory was  
attended with the greatest clemency: very  
few were put to death; and these were such

**BOOK** as would not deign to deprecate punishment. From this lenity of the leader a judgment may be formed, of the limits which he would have prescribed to himself in success, had he been allowed, both in the beginning of his triumvirate and in the plains of Philippi. The faithful friendship of Aruntius, a man very remarkable for regularity of conduct, worked on Cæsar, who, after a long struggle with his mercy, preserved Sosius in safety. Let us not pass by the memorable behaviour and expression of Asinius Pollio. After the peace of Brundisium he staid at home in Italy; never saw the Queen, nor, after Anthony's mind was enervated by his passion for her, did he ever interfere in the business of his party. But on Cæsar's requesting that he would accompany him to the Actian war, he answered, " My services to Anthony are too great; his kindnesses to me too notorious; I will therefore withdraw myself from your dispute, and will be the prey of the conqueror."

LXXXVII. In the next year, Cæsar followed the Queen and Anthony to Alexandria, and brought the war to a final conclusion.

Anthony

Anthony killed himself courageously enough, so as to compensate by his death for many crimes of effeminacy. Cleopatra, eluding the vigilance of her guards, had an asp brought to her, and by its bite put an end to her life, without betraying any womanish fear. It reflected honour on Cæsar's success and his merciful disposition, that not one of those who bore arms against him was put to death by him. Decimus Brutus perished by the cruelty of Anthony; and the same Anthony, when Sextus Pompey was conquered by him, although he had pledged his honour to secure even his dignity, yet he bereft him of that and life together. Brutus and Cassius died voluntary deaths, without making trial of the disposition of the conquerors. The end of Anthony and Cleopatra we have now related. Canidius died in a more cowardly manner than was consonant to his frequent professions. Of the murderers of Cæsar, Cassius Parmensis was the last victim of vengeance, as Trebonius had been the first.

LXXXVIII. While Cæsar was employed in putting a period to the Actian and Alexandrian wars, Marcus Lepidus,—a young

**BOOK** young man whose person was more com-  
**II.** mendable than his mind, son of that Lepidus  
who had been triumvir for regulating the  
commonwealth, by Junia a sister of Brutus,—  
formed a plot to assassinate Cæsar, as soon  
as he should come home to Rome. The  
guardianship of the city was then under the  
direction of Cilnius Mæcenas, who was of  
equestrian rank, and of a splendid family.  
When any affair demanded vigilance, he was  
perfectly alert, provident, and judicious in  
acting; but when any relaxation from  
business could be obtained, he indulged him-  
self in indolence and softness to an excess  
of effeminacy. He was no less beloved by  
Cæsar, than was Agrippa, but he was not so  
highly promoted: because through life, he  
was fully contented with the narrow purple:  
it was in his power to obtain equal prefer-  
ment, but he did not equally desire it. On  
this occasion, making not the least stir, but  
dissembling his knowledge of the matter, he  
watched the proceedings of this hot-headed  
young man, and then crushing Lepidus with  
wonderful dispatch, and without any distur-  
bance either of men or business, he stifled  
at its birth a design which would have  
rekindled the civil war with new violence;  
while

while the author met the punishment due BOOK  
II.  
to his wicked purposes. Here we may produce an instance of conjugal affection parallel to that of Calpurnia wife of Antistius, whom we have mentioned above,—Servilia, the wife of Lepidus swallowed burning coals, and thus gained immortal fame in retribution for a premature death.

LXXXIX. Caesar then returned to Rome : but it is not within the compass of a complete history, much less of this brief sketch, to describe, as the subject deserves, the multitudes that poured out to welcome him ; the warmth of affection displayed by all men of all ages and ranks, or the magnificence of his triumphs and donations. There is no good which men can ask from the gods,—none that the gods can bestow on men, none that can be conceived in wishes, none that can render happiness complete,—which Augustus on his return did not realize to the state, to the Roman people, and to the world. The civil wars which had lasted twenty years were ended, foreign wars were suppressed, peace was recalled, the fury of arms every where laid asleep, energy was restored to the laws, authority to the courts of justice, and

M majesty

## BOOK

## II.

majesty to the senate; the power of the magistrates was confined within its antient limits, only two prætors were appointed in addition to the former eight; the old original form of the commonwealth was re-established; culture was brought back to the lands, reverence to religion, security to men's persons, and to every man safe enjoyment of his property; the laws received useful emendations; wholesome new laws were introduced; and the senate was chosen without harsh severity, though not without strictness. The principal men, who had enjoyed triumphs and the amplest honours, were enticed by the encouragement of the prince to add to the decorations of the city. Cæsar could only be prevailed on to accept of the consulship, in which office he was continued to the eleventh year, notwithstanding his many endeavours to prevent it: as to the dictatorship, though it was long and earnestly pressed on him by the people, he as steadfastly refused it. A recital of the wars waged under his command, of his victories productive of peace to every part of the world, and of his numerous works both in Italy and abroad, would give full employment to a writer, who dedicated the whole length of his  
life

life to that one business. Mindful of our declared purpose, we have laid before our readers only a general view of his administration.

BOOK  
II.

XC. When the civil wars were composed, as we have said, and the members of the state, which had suffered laceration during such a long series of years, began to coalesce, Dalmatia having rebelled, was, in the two hundred and twentieth year from its first waging war, reduced to a complete acknowledgment of the Roman power. The Alps, remarkable for their numerous and barbarous nations, were entirely subdued. Spain, after much fighting with various success, was obliged to submit to a peace, partly by Cæsar himself, and partly by Agrippa, whom the friendship of the prince had raised to a third consulship, as it did afterwards to a share in the tribunician power. A Roman army commanded by Cneius Scipio, uncle of Africanus, was the first sent into that province, in the consulate of Scipio and Sempronius Longus, which was the first year of the second Punic war, two hundred and fifty from the present, and through a space of two hundred years, a contest attended with

M 2

much

**BOOK** much loss of blood on both sides, was maintained there in such a manner, that the  
**II.**  
Roman people lost whole armies with many generals, while the empire often incurred disgrace, and sometimes even danger. There the Scipios were beaten : there our ancestors were employed for twenty years in the disgraceful conflict with Viriathus, Rome being shaken by the terror of the Numantian war. There too was made the scandalous treaty of Quintus Pompey, and the more scandalous one of Mancinus, which the senate rescinded by delivering up that commander in an ignominious manner. That province caused the loss of many generals of consular and prætorian rank, and in the time of our fathers, raised Sertorius to such a height by the aid of its forces, that during five years it was impossible to judge whether the Romans or the Spaniards were the stronger in arms, or which nation would be subject to the other. This province, then, so extensive, so populous, and so fierce, Augustus Cæsar, about fifty years ago, reduced to such a perfect state of pacification, that the country which had never been free from most violent wars, was thenceforward under Caius Antistius, then under Publius Silius  
lieute-

lieutenant-general, and their successors, perfectly exempt from even petty disturbances. BOOK  
II.

XCI. While means were employed for the re-establishment of peace in the west, the King of the Parthians sent from the east to Augustus,—which surname was, on the proposition of Plancus conferred on him by an unanimous vote of the senate and people of Rome,—the Roman ensigns taken by Orodes, when Crassus was cut off, and those which his son Phraates had gained on defeating Anthony. Yet there were people discontented with this most happy state of affairs. Lucius Murena and Fannius Cæpio, men of different characters,—for the former, setting aside his present misconduct, might be reckoned a good man; the latter, even before this, had shewn himself one of the worst,—had formed a plot to assassinate Cæsar; but they were detected by the vigilance of the magistrates, and suffered from justice the fate which they had intended to inflict on another by violence. Soon after, a similar design was concerted by Rufus Egnatius, who, in every particular, was more like a gladiator than a senator. In the office of ædile he had acquired a considerable share of popularity,

**BOOK** which he had increased by occasionally extinguishing fires with the aid of his own servants; insomuch that, from that office he was elected prætor; and afterwards had the assurance to sue for the consulship, though he was conscious of being sunk in every kind of vice and infamy; nor was his property in better condition than his mind. This man, gaining a number of accomplices like himself, resolved to take Cæsar's life, thinking that he could not prosper while the Emperor lived; and this, though himself should die in consequence. For it is frequently the case, that a desperate man chooses to perish amidst public ruin, rather than to see his own particular affairs buried in destruction, or to undergo the same fate without attracting notice. But he was not more successful in keeping the secret, than the former conspirators: he was thrown into prison, and with his accomplices there met the death best suited to his life.

XCII. Let us not defraud of due commemoration the very meritorious conduct of an excellent man, Caius Sentius Saturninus, who was consul at this time. Cæsar was absent, being employed in regulating the affairs of Asia, and of the east, and dispensing

ing by his presence to every part of the world the blessings of that peace, of which he was the author. Sentius happened then to be sole consul. Thus unsupported by Cæsar's presence, he yet, beside other instances of conduct conformable to the primitive practice of consuls, executed his office with strictness and unshaken firmness: such was his dragging into light the frauds of the revenue farmers, punishing their avarice, and replacing the public money in the treasury, and, when presiding at the elections, supporting the character of consul with extraordinary propriety. Persons whom he judged unworthy canvassing for the quæstorship, he forbade to declare themselves candidates, and on their persisting in their purpose, threatened to make them feel the power of a consul, if they went down to the field. Then when Egnatius, elated by his popularity, conceived hopes, that as he had advanced immediately from the office of ædile to that of prætor, so he would from this latter to the consulship; Caius ordered him to relinquish his pretensions, and on his refusing to comply, assured him with an oath, that even if he should be elected by the votes of the people, he would not proclaim him.

M 4

Such

BOOK  
II.

**BOOK** Such behaviour I think comparable to any of  
**II.** the celebrated acts of the early consuls : but  
 such is our nature, that we more readily bestow praise on actions that we hear of, than on those which we see, and view the things present with envy, the past with veneration ; — thinking ourselves obscured by the former, but instructed by the latter.

**XCIII.** It was universally supposed, that in case of the demise of Cæsar, Marcus Marcellus, son of his sister Octavia, would succeed to his power ; yet it was not believed, that this event would take place, without being impeded by Marcus Agrippa. But, three years before the discovery of the plot of Egnatius, about the time of the conspiracy of Murena and Cæpio, fifty years from the present, Marcellus died very young, after having, in the office of ædile, exhibited games with the greatest magnificence. He is said to have possessed shining virtues, and to have been happy in disposition and abilities, and capable of filling the high station for which he was educated. After his death, Agrippa, who had gone to Asia under pretence of acting as deputy to the prince, but, as fame says, choosing to be out of the way during

during the present state of affairs, on account of a private pique between him and Marcellus, returned home and married Cæsar's daughter Julia, who had been the wife of Marcellus, a woman whose offspring promoted not her own or her country's happiness.

BOOK  
II.

XCIV. During this period, Tiberius Claudius Nero, who, as we have said, was three years old when Livia daughter of Claudianus Drusus became the wife of Cæsar, being given in marriage by Nero her former husband; — a youth who had been virtuously educated, who possessed in the highest degree birth, beauty, dignity of mien, the best information, and the greatest capacity, and who from the beginning afforded hopes of his becoming the great man that he now is, and whose very look announced a prince. He began to act in a public character, being made quæstor in his nineteenth year: and under the direction of his stepfather took such judicious measures, both in Rome and at Ostia, to remedy the exorbitant price of provisions and the scarcity of corn, that his behaviour on that occasion gave clear indications of his future greatness. Not long after,

**BOOK** he was sent with an army to inspect and regulate the provinces in the east. There he displayed instances of every kind of virtue : and having marched his legions into Armenia, and reduced it under the power of the Roman people, he bestowed the kingdom on Artavasdes. Even the King of the Parthians, awed by the fame of his great character, sent his own sons hostages to Cæsar.

II.

XCV. When Nero returned thence, Cæsar determined that he should try his abilities in supporting the weight of a difficult war, giving him, as an assistant in the business, his own brother Claudius Drusus, whom Livia bore in the house of Cæsar. These attacked the Rhætians and Vindelicians on different sides, and by the sieges of many cities and forts, and by some successful actions in the field, they completely subdued those nations, so very strongly protected by the nature of the country, difficult of access, and abounding in numbers, savagely fierce. This was effected with more danger than detriment on the side of the Roman troops, but with great loss on that of the enemy. Some time before this, the censorship of Plancus and Paullus was spent in quarrelling with each

each other, and produced neither honour to **BOOK** themselves nor advantage to the public: for **II.** one of them wanted a capacity, the other a character befitting a censor. Paullus could badly fill the office; Plancus ought to have stood in dread of it: for he could not charge, or hear others charge young men with any crime, of which he in his old age was not conscious.

**XCVI.** Soon after this died Agrippa, who had ennobled his new family by many honours, and had advanced so far as to become father-in-law to Nero, while the sons of the latter, his grandsons, had been adopted by the divine Augustus, who prefixed the names Caius and Lucius to their own. This event occasioned a closer connection between Cæsar and Nero, for Julia daughter of the former, who had been the wife of Agrippa, was married to the latter. The war of Pannonia, which had commenced in the consulate of Agrippa and Marcus Vinicius your grandfather, now raged with great fury, and threatened Italy with imminent danger: in this war, also, Nero held the command. The tribes of the Pannonians, the nations of the Dalmatians, the situations of the countries and

**BOOK** and rivers, the numbers of their people and  
**II.** the extent of their strength, the numerous  
 and most glorious victories gained in that  
 war by this consummate general, we shall  
 describe in another place. Let this work  
 conform to its rule. In consequence of this  
 success Nero enjoyed the honour of a  
 triumph.

XCVII. But while all things on this side  
 of the empire proceeded in a course of the  
 greatest prosperity, a severe loss was sustain-  
 ed in Germany, where the army was com-  
 manded by Marcus Lollius a lieutenant-ge-  
 neral, who was always more anxious to get  
 money than to act properly; and while he  
 carefully concealed his vices, was highly pro-  
 fligate. \* \* \* The loss of the eagle of  
 the fifth legion called Cæsar from the city  
 into Gaul. Then the burthen and manage-  
 ment of the German war was delegated to  
 Claudius Drusus the brother of Nero, a youth  
 of as many and as great virtues as can find  
 place in human nature, or be perfected by  
 cultivation, whose genius excelled equally in  
 the arts of war and in those of peace. His  
 sweet and engaging manners, his courteous  
 and unassuming demeanour, are said to have  
 been inimitable. In beauty of person he was  
 the

the next to his brother. But, when he had conquered a great part of Germany, after shedding a profusion of the blood of the inhabitants, the cruelty of the fates snatched him from the world. He was then in the consulship, and in the thirtieth year of his age. The business of the war devolved on Nero, who executed it with his usual valour and success; and, carrying his victorious arms over every part of Germany, without any loss of the troops committed to his charge, (a point in which this commander was always particularly careful,) he subdued it so effectually as to reduce it nearly to the state of a tributary province. In consequence, he enjoyed another triumph, and another consulship.

XCVIII. While these transactions passed in Pannonia and Germany, a furious war broke out in Thrace, where all the states of that nation arose in arms: but this was ended with success by the brave exertions of Lucius Piso, who is at present the most diligent and, at the same time, the mildest guardian of the city's safety. In quality of lieutenant to Cæsar, he carried on the war against them for three years; and partly by engagements in the field, partly by taking their towns, with great destruction on their

**BOOK** their side, he reduced those ferocious people  
**II.** to submission on the former terms of peace :  
by which means he restored security to Asia,  
and peace to Macedonia. Every one must  
think and allow that this man's character is  
a composition of vigour and gentleness, and  
that it is hard to find any person, either  
more passionately fond of ease, or more ready  
to undergo the fatigue of business, or to dis-  
patch what is requisite, without any ostenta-  
tion of activity.

XCIX. Tiberius Nero had now enjoyed  
two consulships, and as many triumphs, had  
been raised to an equality with Augustus  
in the partnership of the tribunician power,  
was the most eminent of all his coun-  
trymen, excepting one, and inferior to  
him, because he wished to be so ; the  
greatest of commanders, the most renowned  
in fame and fortune ; when, out of a surpris-  
ing, incredible, and unspeakable effort of  
affection, the causes of which were after-  
wards discovered, considering that Caius  
Cæsar had already assumed the manly gown,  
and that Lucius was now grown up to man-  
hood, and apprehending that his own splen-  
dour might obstruct the progress of the rising  
youths, he soon after this time, without dis-  
closing

closing the reason of his proceeding, request-  
ed leave of absence from his father-in-law  
and stepfather, that he might rest from a  
continual course of labours. An account of  
the sentiments of the people on this occasion,  
of the feelings of individuals, of the tears  
shed by every one on taking leave of this  
great man, and how near his country was to  
insisting on his stay, must be reserved for  
my history at large. One thing must be  
mentioned even in this hasty narration.  
During seven years which he spent at  
Rhodes, all proconsuls and ambassadors  
going into the transmarine provinces waited  
on him there with compliments, and always  
lowered their fasces to this private person, if  
such majesty was ever private, and acknow-  
ledged his retirement more honourable than  
their high employments.

C. The whole world felt the departure of  
Nero from the guardianship of the city.  
For the Parthians, renouncing the alliance of  
Rome, seized Armenia; and Germany, when  
the eyes of its conqueror were turned away,  
resumed its arms. But in the city, in that  
same year, (thirty from the present,) wherein  
the divine Augustus, being consul with  
Caninius

**BOOK II.** Caninius Gallus, on occasion of the dedica-


tion of a Temple of Mars, gratified the eyes and minds of the Roman people with the spectacles of a most magnificent shew of gladiators and a sea-fight; a storm shocking to mention, and horrid to remember, burst on his own house. For his daughter Julia, utterly regardless of the dignity of her parent and husband, practised every thing scandalous in lust and luxury, that a woman can do or suffer, measuring her licence to sin by the grandeur of her situation, and judging every thing lawful, that gratified her humour. On this occasion Julius Antonius, who from being a conspicuous example of Cæsar's mercy became a violator of his house, inflicted on himself the punishment due to his guilt. On this man, after the overthrow of his father, Cæsar had conferred not only safety, but a priest's office, a prætor's and a consul's; had honoured him with the government of provinces, and even admitted him to a very close affinity, giving him in marriage the daughter of his own sister. Then Quintius Crispinus, who covered exorbitant wickedness under a morose austerity of countenance, and Appius Claudius, and Sempronius Gracchus, and Scipio, and others of

of less note, men of both the higher orders, **BOOK**  
suffered such punishment, as they would for **II.**  
the debauching of any common person's wife;  
though they had violated the daughter of  
Cæsar, and wife of Nero. Julia was banished  
to an island, and thus removed from the  
sight of her country and her parents; yet  
she was accompanied by her mother Scri-  
bonia, who remained a voluntary sharer in  
her exile.

CI. Not long after, Caius Cæsar having  
first made a progress through other pro-  
vinces to secure their tranquillity, was sent  
to Syria, and on his way made a visit to  
Tiberius Nero, paying every mark of respect  
to him as to a superior. In the province his  
conduct varied so much, that while many  
parts of it merited praise, others were liable  
to censure. He had an interview with the  
King of the Parthians in an island of the  
Euphrates, each being attended by equal  
numbers. This grand and memorable spec-  
tacle, of the Roman army standing on one  
side, and the Parthian on the other, while the  
most illustrious heads of the greatest empires  
in the world held their meeting, I had the  
good fortune to behold, soon after my enter-

N

ing

**BOOK** ing into the army, being then a military  
**II.**  tribune. This rank I attained, Marcus  
 Vinicius, while serving under your father  
 and Publius Silius in Thrace and Macedonia.  
 Having afterwards seen Achaia, Asia, all  
 the provinces in the east, and the mouth and  
 both shores of the Pontic sea, I now receive  
 much pleasure from the recollection of so  
 many events, places, cities, and nations.  
 First, the Parthian was entertained at a ban-  
 quet by Caius, on our bank, then Caius by  
 the king, on the bank opposite.

**CIL.** On this occasion, the Parthian made  
 a discovery to Cæsar of some schemes full of  
 artifice and deceit, which had been formed  
 by Marcus Lollius, whom Augustus had  
 chosen director of the youth of his son; and  
 these were afterwards published by common  
 fame. Whether his death, which followed  
 in a few days, was fortuitous or voluntary I  
 have not discovered: but the joy, which  
 people felt on the occasion, was counter-  
 balanced by their grief for the loss of Censo-  
 rinus, who died soon after in the same pro-  
 vince, a man formed by nature to captivate  
 the affections of mankind. Caius then  
 marched into Armenia, and at the beginning  
 had

had some success; but he was grievously wounded by a person called Adduus in a conference near Artigera, where he had exposed himself inconsiderately; and as his body in consequence became less active, so was his mind less capable of benefitting the public. Besides, he was surrounded by men, whose adulatory conversation fomented his vices; for flattery is always an attendant on high station, and by these means he was so far perverted, that he wished to spend his life in the most retired and most distant corner of the globe, rather than return to Rome. However, after many struggles he consented, and having reluctantly set out on his way home, he fell sick and died at Limyra, a city in Lycia. His brother Lucius Cæsar died a year before at Marseilles, as he was going to Spain.

BOOK  
II.

CIII. But fortune, though she had withdrawn the hopes entertained of those illustrious youths, had already restored to the republic its own peculiar safeguard. For before the death of either, in the consulate of Publius Vinicius your father, Tiberius Nero coming home from Rhodes, had filled his country with incredible joy. Augustus Cæsar

**BOOK** did not hesitate long, to choose him as the  
**II.** person conspicuously qualified for what he had  
intended. Wherefore what he had purposed  
after the death of Lucius, while Caius was  
yet alive, but had been diverted from by the  
earnest opposition of Nero, he, on the decease  
of the two young men, determined to execute.  
This was to constitute Nero his partner in the  
tribunician power, though the latter used  
many arguments against the measure, both at  
home and in the senate. However, in the  
consulate of *Ælius Catus* and *Sentius*, seven  
hundred and fifty-four years after the building  
of the city, twenty-seven from the present, on  
the fifth of the calends of July, he adopted  
him his son. The joy of that day, the con-  
course of all ranks of men, the prayers offered  
by people stretching their hands in a manner  
to heaven, and the hope then conceived of  
perpetual security, and of the eternal dura-  
tion of the Roman empire, we shall scarcely  
be able to delineate fully in our large work,  
much less can we attempt to represent it here.  
I only take the opportunity with pleasure of  
mentioning how much and how universally  
he was beloved. Then shone forth to parents  
a certain hope of their children, to husbands  
of their wives, to owners of their patrimony,  
to

to all men, of safety, quiet, peace, and tranquillity; so that nothing farther could be hoped, nor could hope be more happily fulfilled.

BOOK  
II.

CIV. On the same day he adopted Marcus Agrippa, born of Julia after Agrippa's death. But in the adoption of Nero a distinction was made by these words of Cæsar: "This I do," said he, "for the good of the commonwealth." His country did not long detain in the city the champion and guardian of its empire, but speedily sent him into Germany. A most violent war had broken out in that country three years before, when Marcus Vinicius your grandfather, a man in the highest estimation, was governor there, and he had acted offensively in several places, and in several made an honourable defence, on which account triumphal ornaments were decreed to him, with a very pompous inscription reciting his performances. At this juncture I became a soldier of Tiberius Cæsar, having before discharged the office of tribune of the camp. For shortly after his adoption I was sent with him into Germany in the post of præfect of cavalry, succeeding my father in that employment; and during

**BOOK** nine successive years, either as præfect, or  
 { **II.** lieutenant-general, I was a spectator, and, as  
 far as the mediocrity of my capacity allowed,  
 an assistant in his most admirable perform-  
 ances. I do not think that human nature  
 can afford another spectacle like that which  
 I enjoyed, while through the most populous  
 part of Italy, and the whole length of the  
 Gallic provinces, the people, on seeing again  
 their former commander, who in merit and  
 power was Cæsar, before he was so in name,  
 congratulated themselves more warmly than  
 they did him. As to the soldiers, the sight  
 of him drew tears of joy from their eyes, and  
 there appeared in their salutations an unusual  
 degree of alacrity, a kind of exultation, and  
 an eager wish to touch his hand. Nor could  
 they restrain themselves from adding,—“Ge-  
 “ neral, we see you, we again receive you in  
 “ safety; General, I was with you in Arme-  
 “ nia; I in Rhætia; I was rewarded by you in  
 “ Vindelicia; I in Pannonia; I in Germany.”

CV. Words cannot describe the exploits  
 that followed; perhaps an account of them  
 would scarcely gain belief: the army marched  
 far into Germany, subdued the Caninefations,  
 Attuarians, Bructerians, recovered Cheruscia,  
 crossed

crossed the river Visurgis, — afterwards rendered remarkable by a disaster of our nation, — and penetrated the parts beyond it. During the whole time, Cæsar assumed to himself all the laborious and dangerous parts of the war, assigning those which were attended with less hazard to Sentius Saturninus, his father's deputy in Germany, a man of manifold virtues. He was diligent, active, provident, able to undergo, and likewise well skilled in, military duties; but when business left room for leisure, he wasted the time in expensive indulgencies, yet in such a manner, that he might more properly be called splendid and gay, than luxurious or indolent. His meritorious and celebrated consulship we have mentioned before. The campaign of that year was protracted to the month of December, and rewarded our pains with abundant success. His filial affection drew Cæsar to Rome, though the Alps were rendered almost impassable by the winter. In the beginning of spring the protection of the empire recalled him to Germany, in the heart of which country, at the source of the river Lupia, the general at his departure had fixed his winter quarters.

BOOK  
II.

## BOOK

## II.

CVI. It would require a large volume to recount the exploits which we atchieved in the following summer, under the command of Tiberius Cæsar. Our army traversed the whole extent of Germany. Nations were conquered whose names were hardly known. The several states of the Cauchians were reduced to submission ; all their youth, infinite in number, immense in their size, strongly guarded by the nature of the country, delivered up their arms, and with their leaders, being surrounded by our soldiers, prostrated themselves before the general's tribunal. The Longobardians were crushed, a nation exceeding in fierceness even the German. In fine, and what had never before been even attempted, the Roman army carried its standards to the distance of four hundred miles, from the Rhine as far as the river Elbe, which flows along the borders of the Semnonians and Hermundians. By singular good fortune, the care of the general, and a proper attention to the seasons, a fleet which had sailed round the windings of the ocean, came from a sea unknown, and hitherto unheard of, up the Elbe to the same place, and having defeated the troops of several nations, and acquired a vast abundance

dance of all things, joined Cæsar and his army. BOOK  
II.

CVII. I cannot forbear inserting the following incident, though among affairs of so much greater magnitude. While we were encamped on the hither bank of the last mentioned river, and while the farther bank glittered with the armour of the enemy's troops, who, it should be observed, always retreated on every motion of our ships, one of the barbarians, far advanced in years, of uncommon stature, with a particular dignity of aspect, embarked in a canoe formed of a tree made hollow, as is their custom. Managing this vessel without assistance, he advanced to the middle of the stream, and requested permission to land with safety on our bank, and to see Cæsar. This request was granted. He then brought his canoe to the shore, and after viewing Cæsar a long time in silence, said, " Our young men are  
" certainly mad, they worship your divinity in  
" your absence; yet, in your presence, choose  
" rather to dread your arms, than to depend  
" on your faith. [For my part, Cæsar, I have  
" by your permission and favour seen this day.  
" the gods, of whom I heretofore heard, and I  
" never

**BOOK** “ never in my life either wished for, or expected, a day of greater happiness.” Then, having obtained leave to touch his hand, he re-embarked in his little vessel, and continually looking back at Cæsar, arrived at the bank occupied by his countrymen. Victorious over every nation and place that he had approached, Cæsar, having his army safe and unimpaired, for it had been only once attacked by the enemy, and that by a stratagem, and with great loss to themselves, led back his legions to winter quarters; being in haste to arrive at Rome.

CVIII. Nothing now remained to be conquered in Germany, except the nation of the Marcomanni, who, under the command of Maroboduus, had forsaken their original abode, and retired into the interior parts of the country, at this time dwelling in plains surrounded by the Hercinian forest. No haste can excuse my passing this man without notice. Maroboduus was of distinguished birth, of very great bodily strength, and a bold daring spirit, and though of a barbarous nation, was no barbarian in capacity. He held the sovereignty over his nation; not a power founded on fortuitous events, or party-violence,

violence, nor precarious, and dependant on the will of his subjects, but a regular established government. Animated by a kingly spirit, he determined to lead away his people far from the Romans, and to proceed to some place, where being beyond the reach of more powerful arms, he might render powerful his own. Accordingly, having taken possession of the country above mentioned, he brought all the neighbouring states under his dominion, either by force, or on terms of agreement.

BOOK  
II.

CIX. His person was secured by a guard, and his military regulations were through continual practice brought nearly to the form of the Roman discipline ; and to such a degree did he improve his army, that it became formidable even to our empire. His behaviour towards the Romans was such, that while he did not make war on us, he openly declared, that if he should be attacked, he had abundance of strength and inclination to make resistance. The ambassadors sent by him to the Cæsars sometimes presented his respects, as suing favour, and sometimes spoke of him as their equal. Nations and individuals revolting from us, received with him

**BOOK** him a safe refuge ; and on the whole, with  
**II.** little dissimulation he acted as a rival. His  
army, consisting of seventy thousand foot,  
and four thousand horse, he kept in constant  
employment against his neighbours, and thus  
prepared it for a more important business  
than the present. He was formidable like-  
wise on this account, that having Germany  
on his left and front, Pannonia on the  
right, and Noricum at the back of his  
territory, he was dreaded by them all, as  
they were always exposed to his attacks.  
Nor could Italy be unconcerned at the  
growth of his power ; for, from the summit  
of the Alps, which forms the boundary of  
Italy, to the frontier of his dominions, is  
a distance of little more than two hundred  
miles. This man and his country, Tiberius  
Cæsar resolved to attack the year following  
on different sides. He ordered Sentius Sa-  
turninus to cut a passage through the Hercinian  
forest, and to march his legions through the  
Catti to Boiohœmum,—so the country of Ma-  
roboduus is called,—while he himself de-  
termined to lead the army then serving in  
Illyricum against the Marcomanni by the  
way of Carnuntum, the nearest place in the  
kingdom of Noricum on that side.

CX. For-

CX. Fortune sometimes retards, sometimes frustrates, the purposes of men. Cæsar had already prepared winter quarters at the Danube, had brought his army within five days' march of the enemy's frontier, and had given orders, that he should be joined by Saturninus, whose legions were at nearly an equal distance from the enemy, and were ready to form a junction with Cæsar, at an appointed place, within a few days, — when Pannonia, having become impatient of controul from long enjoyment of the benefits of peace, and Dalmatia, now grown up to full strength, having drawn into their confederacy all the nations of that region, took up arms in concert. The business imposed by necessity was then preferred to that which promised glory; for it was not thought safe to keep the army at such a distance in the interior country, and leave Italy open to an enemy so near it. Of the states and nations which commenced war, the number of men amounted to eight hundred thousand; two hundred thousand foot were assembled, and well appointed with arms, and nine thousand horse. Of this immense multitude, commanded by very active and able leaders, one part was intended to march against Italy, which

**BOOK** which joins their country at the confines of  
**II.** Nauportum and Tergeste, another part made an irruption into Macedonia, and a third was appointed to guard their own countries. The chief command was vested in two leaders, Bato and Pinnetes. With regard to the Pannonians, they all understood, not only the discipline, but also the language of the Romans, and most of them had some knowledge of letters, and frequently exercised the faculties of the mind. Wherefore no other nation ever made war so quickly follow the resolution to fight, or so speedily put its determinations in execution. Roman citizens were murdered, traders slain, a great number of soldiers cut off, in that quarter of the country most remote from the general, all Macedonia was reduced by their arms, and all things in all places wasted with fire and sword. Nay so powerful were the apprehensions excited by this war, that they shook and alarmed even the steady mind of Augustus Cæsar, strengthened as it was by experience in so great wars.

CXI. Wherefore troops were levied, all the veterans were every where called out, men and women were compelled to furnish freedmen

as

as soldiers in proportion to their income. **BOOK**  
The prince was heard to say in the senate, **II.**  
that, unless they were on their guard, the  
enemy might within ten days come within  
sight of the city of Rome. The Roman  
senators and knights promised their utmost  
exertions in support of the war. But all our  
preparations would have been fruitless, with-  
out a proper director. The commonwealth,  
therefore, required of Augustus, to give the  
command in that war to Tiberius, as the  
grand resource in military affairs. In this  
war likewise I held an honourable em-  
ployment. After completing my service in  
the cavalry, having been appointed quæstor,  
and though not yet a senator, set on an equal  
footing with senators, by being made a tri-  
bune of the commons, I led from the city a  
body of troops, sent by Augustus to his son.  
Then, in the quæstorship having given up  
my chance of a province, I was sent by  
Augustus as his deputy to his son, and pro-  
digious armies of the enemy did we see in  
that first year. In the most critical situa-  
tions, the wisdom of our leader enabled us to  
elude the fury of their whole united force.  
With what attention to the convenience of  
the men did we see business managed,  
under

**BOOK** under the orders of the commander. With  
**II.** what wisdom were the winter-quarters  
regulated. With what immense labour did  
we inclose the enemy with guards of our  
troops, so that they could not make their  
way out, but destitute of provisions, and  
inwardly raging, they pined away, and lost  
their strength.

CXII. An exploit of Messalinus, in the  
first campaign of this war, resolute in the  
effort, and happy in the issue, deserves to be  
recorded. This man, more noble in spirit  
than even in birth, most worthy of having  
Corvinus for his father, and of leaving his  
surname to his brother Cotta, commanded in  
Illyricum, where, on a sudden insurrection,  
he with the twentieth legion, only half com-  
plete, was surrounded by an army of the  
enemy. He routed and put to flight their  
twenty thousand men; for which he was ho-  
noured with triumphal ornaments. So per-  
fectly satisfied were the barbarians with their  
own numbers, and so confident in their  
strength, that they did not seem to have any  
fear of Cæsar. The division of their army  
opposed to him was nearly starved, as our  
will or convenience directed, and which oc-  
casioned

casioned a mortality, so that not daring either to stand his attack, or to engage him when he offered battle, and drew out his line, they took post on the Claudian mountain, and raised a fortification for their defence. But the division which had poured out to meet an army brought from the transmarine provinces by two consulars, Aulus Cæsina and Plautius Silvanus, joined with the forces of Rhometalces, King of Thrace, who as an auxiliary led a numerous body of his countrymen, surrounded our legions, five in number, and struck them such a blow, as was near proving fatal to all. The King's cavalry was routed, so was the horse of the allies, and their cohorts were forced to retreat, while even in the body of the legions some confusion took place. But the Roman courage on that occasion entitled the soldiers to more honour, than could be claimed by their commanders, who, widely differing from the practice of their general, had never learned from scouts the situation of the enemy, when they found themselves in the midst of them. Some military tribunes were slain, one præfect of the camp, with a few præfects of the cohorts; nor did the centurions all escape, some of the first rank were  
o killed.

**BOOK** killed. But, in this perilous juncture, the  
**II.** legions exhorting each other, made a charge  
on the enemy, and not content with repelling  
them, broke their line, and gained an un-  
hoped-for victory. About this time, Agrippa,  
who had been adopted by his natural grand-  
father, on the same day with Tiberius, and  
had in the two last years begun to discover  
his real character, plunged into profligacy  
and alienated from himself the affection of  
his father, who was also his grandfather: but  
soon after this, becoming every day more  
abandoned in vice, he met an end suitable to  
the madness of his behaviour.

**CXIII.** Now, Marcus Vinicius, observe  
Cæsar; — as great in the character of a leader  
in war, as you see him in that of a prince in  
peace. On the junction of his own army and  
that which came to him, he had in one camp  
ten legions, seventy auxiliary cohorts, four-  
teen squadrons of allied horse, and more than  
ten thousand veterans, beside a great number  
of volunteers, and the numerous cavalry of the  
King: in short, so great an army, as had never  
been seen in one place since the civil wars.  
Every one rejoiced at this, placing their con-  
fidence of success principally in numbers.  
But

But the general, the best judge of his own **BOOK**  
 proceedings, preferred profit to shew; and, as **II.**  
 I always saw him act in every war, pursued  
 the measures that merited approbation, not  
 those that happened to be approved at the  
 time. The army that joined him he allowed  
 to rest a few days, that the men might be  
 refreshed after their march, and then, judging  
 that it rendered his force too large to be kept  
 in order, and too unwieldy to be properly ma-  
 naged, he resolved to send it away. He ac-  
 companied it through a long and very fa-  
 tiguig march, the difficulty of which can  
 hardly be described; for he thought, that as  
 none would venture to attack the whole, so,  
 their dread of the whole would deter any from  
 attacking either of the parties on their sepa-  
 ration. He then sent back those troops to  
 their former quarters, and returning himself  
 to Sisia, in the beginning of a very severe  
 winter, appointed lieutenant-generals, of  
 whom I was one, to command the several  
 divisions in winter quarters.

CXIV. His conduct was truly amazing,  
 not indeed shewy, but replete with real and  
 solid virtue and utility, most delightful in ex-  
 perience and exemplary in humanity. During  
 the whole time of the German and Pannonian  
 wars,

BOOK

II.

wars, not one of us, or of those who preceded or followed our steps, was at any time sick, whose recovery and health were not promoted by Cæsar with as much care, as if his thoughts, which were obliged to attend to such an infinite variety of important and laborious business, had no employment but this alone. There was a carriage kept always in readiness for such as wanted it, and in it was a litter for the use of the public, the benefit of which I, among others, have experienced. Then physicians, proper kinds of food, and the stove, a machine procured for that sole purpose, contributed to the health of all. We wanted house and domestics, but no accommodation that either could supply. The truth of what I am going to add, and of all that I have yet related, will be readily acknowledged by every person who was present on the occasions. The general alone always travelled on horseback; he alone, with those whom he invited during the greater part of the summer campaigns, sat at meals. Such as neglected discipline he pardoned, provided the example was not prejudicial; he frequently admonished and reproved, very rarely punished; acting a middle part, generally though not always dissembling

sembling his knowledge of faults. The winter relieved us from action. In the following summer, all Pannonia begged for peace; so that the war subsisted only in Dalmatia. So many thousands of brave young men who had lately threatened Italy with slavery, surrendering their arms, which they had employed at a river called Bathinus, and prostrating themselves at the knees of Cæsar, together with Bato and Pinetes, leaders of very high reputation, one taken, the other surrendering, formed a scene, which I hope to display at large in my regular history. In autumn, the victorious army was led back into winter quarters; and the command in chief of all the troops was given by Cæsar to Marcus Lepidus, a man in fame and fortune the nearest to himself; who, the longer and better he is known, is the more beloved and admired, and is acknowledged to be an ornament to the dignified family that gave him birth.

CXV. Cæsar now turned his thoughts and arms to the remaining part of the business of the war of Dalmatia, in which country, how useful an assistant and lieutenant-general he found in my brother Magius Celer Velleianus,

**BOOK** is testified by his own and his father's declaration, and certified by the record of the most ample honours conferred on him by Cæsar at his triumph. In the beginning of summer, Lepidus drew out the army from winter quarters, and in his way to the general, Tiberius, marched through nations unimpaired in strength, and free from the calamities of war, and in consequence, daring and ferocious. Struggling with the difficulty of the passes, and the force of the enemy, and making great havock of those who opposed him, he cut down their corn, burned their houses, slew their men, and then, exulting in victory, and laden with booty, completed his march, and joined Cæsar. In reward of these services, which, if performed under his own auspices, would have entitled him to a triumph, he was honoured with triumphal ornaments; the will of the senate concurring with the judgment of the princes. That summer effectually finished this very great war, for the Dalmatians of Brencia and Desitia, notwithstanding that they were almost impreguably secured, by their mountainous countries, by the fierceness of their temper, by their surprising military skill, and more especially by the narrow passes of their forests,

forests, were at length, when almost ex- **BOOK**  
 tirpated, reduced to quiet by the arms and **II.**  
 personal exertions of Cæsar himself. In all  
 this important war, or in Germany, I could  
 observe nothing more great, or more de-  
 serving of admiration, than this, that the  
 general never thought any opportunity of  
 success so valuable, as to compensate a  
 loss of men; always judged the safest means  
 the most honourable, and preferred the ap-  
 probation of conscience to that of mankind;  
 nor were the counsels of the general ever  
 regulated by the judgment of the army,  
 but the army by the wisdom of the general.

CXVI. In the Dalmatian war, Germanicus,  
 being sent forward into various places of  
 difficulty, exhibited great proofs of courage;  
 and Quintus Julius Postumus, a consular  
 and governor of Dalmatia, distinguished him-  
 self so much by his activity in the service,  
 as to merit triumphal ornaments: which  
 honour had been earned in Africa, a few  
 years before, by Passienus and Cossus, men  
 celebrated for some virtues of different kinds.  
 But Cossus converted this testimony of his  
 success into a surname for his son, a youth  
 formed by nature as a pattern of all the  
 virtues.

BOOK virtues. Lucius Apronius, who shared in

II. the actions of Postumus, merited by his excellent behaviour in that service, those honours which he afterwards obtained. I wish no greater instances could be produced of fortune's sway in all things, but in cases of this kind her power is abundantly evident : for Sejanus, a man of primitive manners, who always tempered antient firmness with humanity, after discharging the most honourable employments in Germany, Illyricum, and Africa, failed, not of deserving, but of an opportunity of obtaining triumphal honours. Aulus Licinius Nerva Silianus, too, son of Publius Silius, a man whom those who knew him could not too much admire, a most worthy citizen and most upright commander, was deprived at once of every advantage ; for he was prematurely snatched away ; prevented from enjoying the fruit of the prince's warmest friendship, and from furnishing a character as highly dignified as that of his father. If any one will say that I looked for a place for the mention of these men, I will allow the truth of the charge ; for candidly to do justice, without exceeding the truth, is no crime in the eyes of the virtuous.

CXVII. Cæsar

CXVII. Cæsar had very nearly finished BOOK  
II.  
the war of Pannonia and Dalmatia, when, within five days of the final termination of it, mournful news arrived from Germany; that Varus was killed, three legions cut to pieces, as many brigades of allied cavalry, and six allied cohorts; so that the only favour allowed to us by fortune was, that this did not happen when our leader was employed elsewhere. The occasion, and the character of the commander there, demand some attention. Quintilius Varus was born of a distinguished, though not noble family, was mild in disposition, quiet in temper, so that, being too indolent both in body and mind, he was better accustomed to ease in a camp than to action in the field. How far he was from despising money, Syria, of which he had been governor, afforded proof; for going poor into that rich province, he became rich, and left it poor. Being appointed commander of the army in Germany, he imagined that the inhabitants had nothing human but the voice and limbs, and that men who could not be tamed by the sword, might be civilized by law. Prepossessed with this notion, he marched into the heart of Germany, and, as if he were among people who delighted

**BOOK** lighted in the sweets of peace, spent the  
**II.** summer in deciding controversies, and  
 directing the proceedings of a court of  
 justice.

CXVIII. But, though a person unacquainted with those people would hardly believe it, while perfectly savage, they are exquisitely artful, a race formed by nature for deceit: accordingly they introduced fictitious disputes one after another; sometimes prosecuted each other for pretended injuries, and then returned thanks for the decision of these suits by Roman equity, for the civilization of their barbarous state by this new mode of proceeding, and for the termination by law, of disputes which used to be determined by arms. By such artifices they lulled Quintilius into a state of such perfect carelessness, that he conceived himself a city prætor distributing justice in the forum, instead of the commander of an army in the middle of Germany. There was at this time a youth of illustrious birth, the son of Segimer prince of his nation, named Arminius, brave in action, of a quick apprehension, and a promptitude of judgment beyond the state of barbarism, shewing in his  
 I I eyes

eyes and countenance the ardour of his mind, who had constantly accompanied our army in the former war, and had obtained the privileges of a Roman citizen, and equestrian rank. He took advantage of the general's indolence, to perpetrate an act of heinous wickedness : for he, not unwisely, judged from observation, that no man is more quickly ruined than he who feels no fear, and that security is very frequently the introduction to misfortune. Wherefore, communicating his design at first to a few, and afterwards to a greater number, he convinced them that the Romans might be destroyed by surprise ; and, proceeding immediately to act upon his design, fixed a time for the execution. Notice of this was given to Varus by Segestes, a man of that nation, of a respectable character and great fidelity ; but fate was too powerful for counsel, and had already extinguished every spark of vigour in his mind. And such is the nature of things, that, in general, a person about to undergo a change of condition, adopts wrong measures, and, what is most unfortunate, affords reason to think, that what befalls him, has happened through his own fault : and thus misfortune is converted into guilt. Varus refused to credit

BOOK  
II.

**BOOK** credit the information, affirming that he depended on the people shewing goodwill toward him, proportioned to his kindness to them. However, after this discovery, there was no longer room left for a second.

**II.**

**CXIX.** The circumstances of this most dreadful calamity, than which the Romans never suffered one more grievous in a foreign country, since the loss of Crassus in Parthia, I will endeavour to display in my regular history, as they have been related by others. At present we can only lament the whole. An army of great bravery, the flower of the Roman troops in discipline, vigour, and experience in war, through the supineness of its leader, the perfidy of the enemy, and the cruelty of fortune, was brought into a situation utterly desperate, in which the unhappy men were not allowed to attempt extricating themselves by fighting, as they courageously wished; nay some were even severely punished by the general, for using their arms with the spirit of Romans. The troops, hemmed in by woods, lakes, and bodies of the enemy, which had lain in ambush, were entirely cut off by those foes whom they had ever before slaughtered like cattle, and whose  
life

life and death had always depended on the mercy, or the anger of the Romans. The leader shewed some spirit in dying, though none in fighting, for, imitating the example of his father and grandfather, he slew himself. Of two præfects of the camp, Lucius Eggius acted very honourably, while Ceionius betrayed great baseness: for, after by far the greater part of the army had fallen by the sword, he advised to surrender, choosing to dye by the hand of an executioner rather than in battle. Numonius Vala, a lieutenant-general under Varus, who in other instances behaved well, was on this occasion guilty of abominable misbehaviour, for, leaving the infantry uncovered by the cavalry, he fled with the horse of the allies, and attempted to reach the Rhine; but fortune took vengeance on his crime. He did not survive his deserted countrymen, but perished in the act of desertion. The savage enemy mangled the half-burnt body of Varus; his head was cut off, and brought to Maroboduus, and being sent by him to Cæsar, was at length honoured with burial and a tomb according to the custom of his country.

CXX. On

BOOK CXX. On receipt of this intelligence,  
II.

Cæsar flies home to his father: the constant patron of the Roman empire undertakes its cause as usual. He is sent to Germany, he secures the peace of Gaul, makes his disposition of the troops, fortifies garrisons, and estimating himself by his own greatness, not by the confidence of the enemy who threatened Italy with an invasion of the Cimbrians and Teutonians, he crosses the Rhine, to act offensively. Having struck terror into Arminius, the preventing of whose invasion would have satisfied his father and his country, he penetrates into the heart of that region, opens roads, wastes the lands, burns the houses, overthrows all opposition, and then, with abundance of glory, and with all his men who crossed the river safe, returns to winter quarters. Let due credit be given to Lucius Asprenas, who serving as lieutenant-general under his uncle Varus, by his manly and active exertions saved a party of two legions, which he commanded, from sharing in that dreadful calamity; and by going down speedily to the lower quarters, confirmed the allegiance of the nations on the hither side of the Rhine, for even these had begun to waver. But some people, while they allow that

that he saved the living, are still of opinion, **BOOK**  
that he improperly possessed himself of the **II.**  
property of those slain with Varus, and, as far as he was able, made himself the heir of the deceased army. Great praise is also due to the bravery of a præfect of the camp named Lucius Cæditius, and of a party who were surrounded with him at Alison, by an immense multitude of Germans: for by forming their plan with judgment, using vigilant foresight, and watching their opportunity, they surmounted difficulties which want rendered insupportable, and the force of the enemy almost insuperable, and opened for themselves with the sword a passage to their friends. Hence it is apparent, that Varus, in other cases certainly a man of merit, and of good intentions, lost himself, and that grand army, through his want of conduct in the command, not through any deficiency of courage in the soldiery. While the Germans were venting their rage on the prisoners, an act deserving of renown was performed by Cælius Caldus, a man who did credit to his very antient family; he took hold of a part of the chains with which he was bound, and dashed it against his head with  
such

**BOOK** such force, that the blood and brains gushed  
II. out together, and he immediately expired.

**CXXI.** The same courage and confidence of success, which animated Tiberius at the beginning of his command, still continued to inspire him. In various expeditions by land and sea, he by frequent shocks broke down the strength of the enemy, and by restraint more than by punishment quieted very formidable commotions in Gaul, and composed very violent dissensions of the populace at Vienna. At this time, on a request being made by his father, that he might be invested with authority equal to his own in all the provinces and armies, the senate and people of Rome passed a decree to that effect. And, indeed, it would have been unreasonable, if what was under his protection were not under his command, and if he, who was the first to bring succour, were not supposed to be entitled to one-half of the honour. Returning to Rome, he celebrated the triumph over Pannonia and Dalmatia, which was long due to him, but had been deferred on account of the several successive wars. Cæsar's triumph was very magnificent, and who can be surprized at it? But must not all admire

the kindness of fortune in this, that fame did not tell us, as usual, that all the most eminent leaders of the enemy were slain; but the triumph shewed them to us in chains. On this occasion my brother and I had the happiness of accompanying him, among the most distinguished personages, and those honoured with the principal presents.

BOOK  
II.

CXXII. Among other instances wherein the moderation of Tiberius Cæsar shines conspicuous, this claims our admiration, that although, beyond all doubt, he merited seven triumphs, yet he was satisfied with three. For who can doubt that, after reducing Armenia, fixing a king on its throne, on whose head he placed the diadem with his own hand, and regulating the affairs of the east, he ought to have enjoyed a triumph? Or that, when he came home victorious over the Rhætians and Vindelicians, he ought to have entered the city in a triumphal car? Then after his adoption, when he had broken the strength of Germany, in three years of continual war, the same honour ought to have been offered to, and accepted by him. Again, after the disaster of the army of Varus, that same Germany being quickly subdued, ought

P

to

**BOOK** to have adorned a triumph of the same consummate general. But with respect to him  
**II.** you can hardly determine whether you should admire more his constant fatigues and dangers, or his moderation with regard to honours.

CXXIII. We have now arrived at a period of universal alarm. For Augustus Cæsar having sent his grandson Germanicus, to finish the remainder of the war in Germany, and intending to send his son Tiberius into Illyricum, to settle in peace the affairs of that country, which he had subdued in war, went with the latter into Campania, partly with the design of escorting him, and at the same time with an intention of being present at the exhibition of games, consisting of trials of activity, which the Neapolitans had resolved to celebrate in honour of him. Although he had before this felt the beginnings of debility, and symptoms of declining health; yet the vigour of his mind withstood them; he accompanied his son, and parting with him at Beneventum, proceeded to Nola. There finding that his health grew worse every day, and well knowing whose presence was requisite, to the completion of his wish  
 of

of leaving all things in safety after him, he hastily recalled his son, who flew back to the father of his country, and arrived earlier than he was expected. Augustus then declared that his mind was at ease; and being enfolded in the embraces of Tiberius, to whom he recommended the care of the state, regarded his end, when the fates should require it, with perfect resignation. He was in some degree revived by the sight and conversation of the person most dear to him: but the destinies soon overpowered every effort for his recovery, and his body dissolving into its first principles, he restored to heaven his celestial spirit, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, in the consulate of Pompey and Apuleius.

CXXIV. In this hasty sketch I have neither leisure nor ability to describe the universal apprehensions excited by this event; the alarm of the senate, the consternation of the people, the fears of the world, and on what a narrow line between safety and destruction we stood on that occasion. One thing I can aver in the voice of the public, that whereas we had dreaded the total ruin of the world, we did not perceive that it felt the slightest

**BOOK** slightest shock; and so powerful was the  
**IL** majesty of one man, that there was no occasion for arms, either in favour of the good, or against the bad. Yet there was one struggle, as it may be called, in the state, between the senate and people of Rome on one side, insisting on Cæsar's assuming his father's station, and himself on the other requiring permission to stand on a level with his countrymen, instead of acting in the exalted character of a prince. At length he was overcome by reason, not by the attractions of honour: because he was convinced, that whatever he did not take under his care would be lost. His case was singular in this, that he refused the sovereignty almost as long as others fought to obtain it. After he had restored his father to heaven, paying respect to his body with human, and to his name with divine, honours, the first act of his administration was the regulation of the elections, on a plan left by the divine Augustus in his own hand-writing. At this time, my brother and I had the honour, as Cæsar's candidates, of being elected prætors, in the places next to men of the highest distinction, and who were priests; and we were remarkable so far, that we were the last recommended

mended by Augustus, and the first by Tiberius Cæsar.

BOOK  
II.  
}

CXXV. The commonwealth quickly reaped the fruit of its counsel and its wish ; and we soon learned what we must have suffered if that wish had not been complied with, and how greatly we had gained by its being fulfilled. For the troops serving in Germany under the command of Germanicus, who was on the spot, and at the same time the legions in Illyricum being seized with a kind of outrageous fury, and a violent passion for universal confusion, demanded a new leader, a new constitution, a new republic ; they even had the confidence to threaten, that they would give laws to the senate, and to the prince ; and they attempted to fix the amount of their pay, and the period of their service. They went so far as to draw the sword, and meeting with impunity, proceeded almost to the extremity of violence. They wanted, indeed, a head, to lead them against the commonwealth, but of followers there were abundance. However, all these furious proceedings were quickly allayed and stopped by the mature wisdom of the veteran emperor, who, refusing most of their demands, promised

## BOOK

## II.

mised some indulgencies without lowering his dignity, and inflicted severe vengeance on the authors of the mutiny: the punishment of the rest was mild. On this occasion, as Germanicus exerted his usual activity, so Drusus, who was sent by his father expressly for the purpose of extinguishing the flame of this military tumult, which blazed to an enormous height, enforced the primitive antient discipline, and by strong measures, though not without danger to himself, put a stop to those excesses, so pernicious, both in the present instance, and in the example; and with the very swords of the soldiers by which he was beset, reduced those who surrounded him. In this business he found an excellent assistant in Junius Blæsus, a man as useful in the camp as worthy in the city. A few years after, being proconsul in Africa, he merited triumphal ornaments, and the title of Imperator. By means of his character marked by many virtues, and of the very great reputation which he had acquired in the war of Illyricum, he was able to retain Spain, and the army which he commanded there, in perfect peace and tranquillity. For as his loyalty led him to adopt the properest measures, so his influence was fully sufficient to attain the

the ends proposed. His care and fidelity were closely copied by Dolabella, a man of the noblest candour, when he commanded on the coast of Illyricum. BOOK  
II.

CXXVI. The transactions of the last sixteen years, as they passed in the view, and are fresh in the memory of all, it is needless to detail. Cæsar immortalized his parent, not by his high authority, but by his religious imitation. He did not name him a divinity, but he made him one. In that space, credit has been restored to commerce, sedition has been banished from the forum, corruption from the field of Mars, and discord from the senate house. Equity and industry, which had long lain buried, have been revived in the state; authority has been given to the magistrates, majesty to the senate, and solemnity to the courts of justice. The dissensions of the theatre have been suppressed; and all men have had either a desire excited in them, or a necessity imposed on them, of acting with propriety. Virtuous acts are honoured, wicked ones punished. The humble respects, but fears not the powerful; the powerful precedes, but contemns not the humble. When were provisions more easily

**BOOK** procured? When were the blessings of peace  
 { **II.** more abundant? Augustan peace diffused  
 over all the regions of the east and the west,  
 as far as the limits of the south and north,  
 maintains perfect security of property in  
 every corner of the world. Fortuitous losses,  
 not only of individuals, but of cities, are  
 compensated by the munificence of the  
 prince. The cities of Asia have been re-  
 paired; and the provinces have been secured  
 from the misconduct of their governors.  
 Honour instantly rewards the deserving, and  
 the punishment of the guilty is late, but cer-  
 tain. Interest is obliged to give place to  
 equity, ambition to merit. For the best of  
 princes teaches his countrymen to act rightly  
 by his own practice; and while he is the  
 greatest in power, is still greater in ex-  
 ample.

**CXXVII.** Men who have arrived at emi-  
 nence, have generally found powerful assist-  
 ants in steering the course of their fortunes;  
 thus the two Scipios had the two Lælii, whom  
 they set on a level with themselves in every  
 particular, and thus the divine Augustus had  
 Marcus Agrippa, and next to him Fabius  
 Maximus. The newness of these men's  
 families

families proved no obstruction to their progress, while they raised themselves to many consulships, triumphs, and to priests' offices in great numbers. For great affairs demand great assistants; but in small matters, the assistance being small does not mar the business. Then it concerns the interest of the public, that what is necessary in business, should be eminent in dignity, and that utility should be fortified with influence. In conformity to these examples, Tiberius Cæsar has had, and still has, a most excellent assistant in the toils of government, *Ælius Sejanus*, whose father was prince of the equestrian order, but on his mother's side he is connected with some of the most illustrious and antient families, which enjoyed very high preferments: he has brothers, cousins, and an uncle, of consular rank; he is remarkable for fidelity, and for ability to endure fatigue; for the constitution of his body corresponds with the vigour of his mind. He is serious with perfect good humour, candid and open as the men of old. In the dispatch of business he appears like a man at ease; assuming nothing to himself, he therefore attains all things: is always more humble in his own estimation than  
in

BOOK  
II.

BOOK in that of others; calm in looks and behaviour, but in mind indefatigably vigilant.

CXXVIII. The judgment of the public has long vied with that of the prince, in testifying an high esteem of his valuable qualities. Nor is it a new mode of thinking in the senate and people of Rome, to consider the most meritorious as the most noble. Even in antient times, before the first Punic war, three hundred years ago, they exalted to the summit of dignity a new man, Titus Coruncanius, bestowing on him, beside other honours, the office of chief pontiff. They promoted to consulships, and censorships, Spurius Carvilius, a man of equestrian birth, and afterwards Marcus Cato, another new man, not a native citizen but born at Tusculum; and likewise Mummius Achaicus. Then they considered Caius Marius, whose birth was very obscure, as unquestionably the first man in the Roman nation, before his sixth consulship; and so high was their esteem of Marcus Tullius, that his approbation was almost sufficient to procure the greatest promotions for any persons he chose. To Asinius Pollio they refused none of those preferments which men of the noblest birth could

could obtain only with infinite labour. Their opinion certainly was, that he who possessed the greatest virtues, was entitled to the greatest honours. The imitation of preceding examples, so natural to man, led Cæsar to make trial of Sejanus, and Sejanus to bear a share of the burthens of the prince, and induced the senate and people of Rome cheerfully to entrust the guardianship of their safety to the minister best qualified for the charge.

CXXIX. Having exhibited a general view of the administration of Tiberius Cæsar, let us now survey some of the particulars. With what wisdom did he bring to Rome, Rhascuporis the murderer of Cotys, his own brother's son, and partner in the kingdom? In this business he was most ably served by Pomponius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, and qualified by nature for every worthy act, who by pure virtue continually merits fame, but never seeks it with avidity. With what solemnity as a senator and a judge, not as a prince, does he hear causes in person? How speedily did he crush Libo, when he became ungrateful, and attempted innovations? With what precepts did he form the mind of his German-

**BOOK** Germanicus, and how train him in the rudiments of war under his own eye, in consequence of which, he afterwards hailed him the conqueror of Germany? What honours did he heap on him in his youth, so that the magnificence of his triumph corresponded with the grandeur of his exploits? How often has he honoured the people with donations? How readily has he supplied senators with the property competent to their rank, when he could do it with the approbation of the senate, neither encouraging extravagance, nor suffering honest poverty to be stripped of dignity? In what an honourable style did he send his Germanicus to the transmarine provinces? What power did he display, employing Drusus as the minister and assistant of his counsels, when Maroboduus lurked in the territories of the kingdom that he had seized, like a serpent lodged in the earth, and, may I speak without offence to his majesty, he by the wholesome medicaments of his counsels, compelled him to quit his den? In what an honourable, yet secure state does he detain him? What a difficult war excited by the Gallic chief Sacrovir and Julius Florus, did he suppress with such amazing courage and  
expe-

expedition, that the Roman people learned **BOOK**  
 that they were conquerors, before they knew **II.**  
 that they were at war; and the news of  
 victory preceded the news of the danger?  
 The African war too, formidable as it was,  
 and becoming daily more so, was quickly  
 terminated under his auspices and counsels.

CXXX. What structures has he erected  
 in his own name, and those of his family?  
 With what dutiful munificence exceeding  
 belief is he building a temple for his father?  
 With how laudable a command of temper  
 is he repairing even the buildings of Cneius  
 Pompey, that were consumed by fire? Con-  
 sidering every thing that was at any time  
 conspicuously great, as related to himself, he  
 thinks it entitled to his support. With what  
 generosity has he at all times, and par-  
 ticularly of late, when the Cælian mount  
 was burned, repaired the losses of people of  
 all conditions out of his own property? With  
 what perfect ease to the public does he  
 manage the raising of troops, a business of  
 great and continual apprehension, without  
 the confusion of a levy? If either nature  
 suffers, or the low state of man allows  
 us to complain of such things to the  
 gods,

**BOOK** gods, what has he deserved? In the first  
 II. place, did he deserve that Libo Drusus  
 should form his execrable plots? Then, that  
 Silius and Piso should follow his example,  
 one of whom he raised to dignity, the other  
 he promoted? That I may pass to greater  
 matters, though he reckoned these the greatest,  
 did he deserve to loose his sons in their  
 youth? or his grandson by Drusus? But  
 we have only spoken of matters of sorrow,  
 we must now come to others of shame. With  
 what violent griefs, Marcus Vinicius, has his  
 mind been tortured in the last three years?  
 How long has his breast burned with flames,  
 and, what is most unhappy, such as he was  
 obliged to conceal? How much grief, in-  
 dignation, and shame, has he been forced  
 to endure by the behaviour of his daughter-  
 in-law? How much by that of his grandson?  
 And the sorrows of this period have been  
 aggravated by the loss of his most excellent  
 mother, a woman who resembled the gods  
 more than human beings: whose power no  
 man ever felt, but in relief from danger, or  
 in an accession of dignity.

CXXXI. Let our book end with a prayer :  
 O Capitoline Jupiter, the author and sup-  
 porter

porter of the Roman race, Mars Gradivus, **BOOK**  
Vesta, guardian of the perpetual fires, and **II.**  
all ye deities who have exalted the present  
body of the Roman empire to a state of  
pre-eminence above all the world, I, in the  
name of the public, pray and beseech you,  
guard, preserve, and protect our present  
state, and our present prince! And when,  
through a very long series of years, he shall  
have discharged the functions of his mortal  
station, grant him successors as late as  
possible, but such as shall have abilities  
to support the empire of the world, as power-  
fully as we have seen him support it!  
Prosper all the loyal designs of our country-  
men, and such as shall be disloyal suppress!

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